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## The weather at major Swissair destinations

	22.6.86	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	14	17	26	Clear
BRUSSELS	14	17	26	Clear
BIRMINGHAM	14	17	26	Clear
CHICAGO	17	22	34	Clear
COPENHAGEN	17	22	34	Clear
FRANKFURT	17	22	34	Clear
GENEVA	17	22	34	Clear
LONDON	17	22	34	Clear
LUXEMBOURG	17	22	34	Clear
MADRID	17	22	34	Clear
MILAN	17	22	34	Clear
MONTREAL	17	22	34	Clear
NEW YORK	17	22	34	Clear
PARIS	17	22	34	Clear
ROME	17	22	34	Clear
ST. LOUIS	17	22	34	Clear
STOCKHOLM	17	22	34	Clear
TOKYO	17	22	34	Clear
TORONTO	17	22	34	Clear
VIENNA	17	22	34	Clear
ZURICH	17	22	34	Clear

\*For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.

Swissair

## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy to clear.

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	35	16-28	27
Golan	34	15-28	27
Nahariya	35	19-29	28
Safed	19	16-28	26
Haifa Port	28	19-35	35
Nazareth	42	18-30	29
Afula	43	17-33	32
Sharon	36	18-30	29
B-0 Airport	48	11-28	27
Tel Aviv	43	18-30	29
Jericho	34	20-38	36
Gaza	39	21-27	27
Beersheba	31	16-32	32
Eilat	19	24-40	39

## SOCIAL & PERSONAL

The Canadian Ambassador and Mrs. Bartleman visited the University of Haifa last Thursday and met with the president, Ephraim Evron, and faculty members.

## ARRIVALS

Mark Leibler, President, Zionist Federation of Australia, to attend the Jewish Agency Assembly and Zionist General Council, and hold meetings with heads of government and Foreign Ministry officials, and chairmen of WZO departments.

Messrs. Harry Taubensfeld, Gerald Srober (U.S.), Julius Weinstein, Oscar Abraham (South Africa), David Amosovskii (Chile), Eric Graus (Brazil), Mauricio Oberlander (Uruguay) for World Executive of Henu-Hatolim meetings, Zionist General Council Session and Jewish Agency Assembly.

## Crash claims life of rescuer, 4 others

Two children and three adults, all from the Ramallah region, were killed yesterday when a truck travelling at high speed crashed and overturned on an already overturned car on the Ramallah-Bir Zeit road. Two children and two adults were seriously injured in the accident.

The crash, which occurred near the settlement of Neveh Tsaf, claimed the life of a man who had stopped to help the driver and passengers of the first car that overturned. All those in the first car were crushed to death by the truck. The injured included others who were trying to rescue the car's passengers. (f.m)

## Court orders ministry to hand over documents

HAIFA (Itim). - The district court here has ordered the Ministry of Health to turn over all documents pertaining to the hospitalization and treatment of an infant girl who was left disabled after undergoing surgery at Rotschild Hospital.

The child sustained brain damage while under anesthesia.

Baruch Shiffman, lawyer for the parents who are plaintiffs in the case, said that he had tried in vain for two-and-a-half years to obtain the findings of an internal hospital probe of the incident.

The plaintiffs charge negligence. They say their daughter needs constant attendance and they are suing the Ministry of Health for \$1 million in damages.

## HOME NEWS

## AGRICULTURE IN CRISIS:

## Ministry bid to slash water prices overturned

By BERNARD JOSEPHS  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

An Agriculture Ministry bid to slash the price of water for farmers in this drought year was apparently abandoned last night in the face of determined Treasury opposition.

After officials from both ministries had met yesterday afternoon, an Agriculture Ministry spokesman said: "No attempt to cut water prices will be made." But Treasury officials seemed somewhat sceptical.

The proposal to reduce agricultural water prices by about 10 per cent was to have been presented to the Knesset Water Committee today, even though Agriculture Minister Arye Nehamkin had undertaken that no such application would be attempted, according to a senior Treasury source.

He continued: "We thought everyone understood that in the present critical situation cutting water prices is out of the question. Then we discovered that the Agriculture Ministry was going to try to push it through."

"Only two weeks ago there was a meeting with the minister of finance at which Nehamkin told us there would be no further attempts to reduce water prices. Today, we discovered that this was going to happen," maintained the Treasury source.

It was a very disturbing development and indicated the type of pressure the Agriculture Ministry must be under from the farmers.

Prof. Hillel Shuval, one of a panel of experts consulting with the government over the water crisis, described any attempt to cut prices as "crazy."

He and his colleagues have been at loggerheads with Nehamkin over the issue. The minister last week angrily dismissed their suggestion that an independent watch-dog committee oversee his water policy.

Shuval said he opposed price cuts and considered that they would be a very grave mistake. A reduction in water rates would be seen as government encouragement to increase the use of "this precious and fast dwindling commodity."

The Agriculture Ministry's attempt was a direct contradiction of the government's decision that no change be made in water prices unless they have the approval of the prime minister, the agriculture minister and the finance minister, noted Shuval.

"Unfortunately it seems that this agreement is not binding and that prices may be changed by agreement between the Knesset Water Committee and the agriculture minister," he observed.

## Cabinet to confer on Golan debts

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Cabinet concern over the imminent possibility of Golan Heights and Jordan Valley settlers abandoning their villages because of their \$230 million debt will be taken up at a top level ministerial meeting today.

After the problem was raised by Minister-without-Portfolio Yosef Shapira (Morasha), Prime Minister Peres said he would confer today with Finance Minister Nissim and Agriculture Minister Nehamkin about the short and long-term financial aid required to keep the threatened settlements from collapsing.

Peres said the government would give the debt issue very serious attention, since the fate of the villages involved could not be ignored.

Defence Minister Rabin said that the government must not let the Golan settlers abandon their homes and thus make it possible for the Syrians to attain what they had failed to achieve in the Yom Kippur war of 1973.

## Families fear collapse of Galilee hilltop settlement

By DAVID RUDGE  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

KORANIT. - This small hilltop settlement in Galilee, founded just eight years ago, is in imminent danger of collapse because of financial problems which members say are not of their making.

The moshav, home to 30 families, is being sued for non-payment of debts totalling more than \$600,000 to banks and a building contractor.

A receiver has been appointed at the request of the creditors to run the moshav's Eden Ha-Galil hinge-and-lock-manufacturing company. All sources of income and the settlement's communal car have been attached.

Families fear that their other businesses, including two high-tech firms, which like their homes are privately-owned, may be next on the list.

If that happens it would be the beginning of the end for the settlement, although members warned they would not give up without a fight.

The story of Koranit's decline into insolvency differs slightly from that of other moshavim which have recently fallen on more than hard times.

The problem, according to members, started in July last year when the moshav took loans of \$400,000 from banks and the Housing Ministry to build 12 new homes.

They deposited the money with the trading organization of the United Agriculture Movement. Less than two months later, the shopping organization folded with massive debts, leaving the moshav without funds to pay for the construction work which by then was well underway.

"Since that time, with interest and fines for non-payment, the debt has grown to around \$600,000, which we have no way of paying," said Moshe Orgad, one of the moshav's founder-members.

"We are caught in a vicious circle."

We have candidates ready to move in and buy the new homes, which would help pay off the debts, but we don't have the money to finish the building. In the meantime our debts are growing every day," he said.

Koranit was established as an industrial moshav, to be run on independent and individualist lines. Situated in the heart of the Segov region, it is one of several hilltop settlements south of the Beit Netufa valley and the Arab villages of Saknin, Arraba and Deir Hanna.

The settlements occupy a strategic position in the area. As Orgad put it, "Our significance is topographical rather than demographic. We came here because we were naive enough and sufficiently motivated to believe that we could build a new settlement and a better way of life for ourselves in the Lower Galilee - a region that had been neglected in terms of Jewish settlement for the past 30 years," he said.

"We are the guardians of the state's land in this area and this is something the authorities still don't fully appreciate," he added.

Orgad, like most of the moshav's members, enjoys good relations with his Arab neighbours. He has his own garage and employs a number of Arabs from nearby villages.

"I personally believe that despite disputes over the jurisdiction of the land in the region, our presence here can and does benefit Arabs as well as ourselves and the state," he said.

We provide places of employment and through these and other connections relationships between ourselves and the Arab residents have gradually developed and improved.

"I was a staunch right-winger before I came here, but meeting and working with Arabs has changed my outlook considerably," he said.

Clearly, a considerable amount of effort and hope could come to nothing if the moshav does not get the cash injection it needs to solve its immediate financial problems.

Late last week, Halevi asked that the photographs be removed. Kolket visited the exhibition yesterday prior to the council meeting.

Museum spokesman Meir Meir told *The Jerusalem Post* that the reaction was out of proportion.

"Focusing on a small number of photographs in a larger exhibition draws more attention to them," he said.

The photographs that some people have said could be used as anti-Israel propaganda form just one section of the approximately 50 exhibited. Others depict Jewish festivals and kibbutz scenes, but also drug pushers and beggars, the Yom Kippur evacuation and the Lebanon War.

Describing the photographs as "very gruesome," Meir said: "They show the general: cruel side of life that we don't want to see."

Kantor, who spent six years compiling his documentary, said the implications were "that if you want to keep yourself safe while ruling over a million-and-a-half Arabs, someone has to do the dirty work. And that dirty work brings out the animal."

**NURSES**  
(Continued from Page One)

The nurses' first reaction was to reject the Michaeli compromise offer, but some leaders said they might consider it again after the labour court session.

At the cabinet meeting, Health Minister Mordechai Gur and Justice Minister Moshe Nissim said there could not be separate wage talks with the hospital nurses, despite their special case. Nissim warned that separate negotiations would shatter the national wage negotiating framework. Nissim expressed his concern at the news that the nurses were intending to defy any court orders that were issued.

Earlier in the day, there were violent scenes at the Histadrut building in Tel Aviv, as nurses' representatives tried to force their way in to see Secretary-General Yisrael Kassar.

Kassar eventually came out to tell the nurses that the Histadrut had adopted previous decisions by the nurses to establish "representative frameworks" within the labour federation to conduct wage negotiations.

**REPORT ON EELS**  
The report in Friday's paper on the putative kashrut of eels was written by our Haifa correspondent Ya'acov Friedler.



This picture, from the controversial Joel Kantor exhibition at the Israel Museum, shows an Arab from Ramle during a "routine" security check.

## Exhibit will stay open despite controversy

By PATRICIA GOLAN  
and JONATHAN KARP  
For The Jerusalem Post

A controversial photographic exhibition that documents life in Israel "In Our Times" will remain open until August, as scheduled, at the Israel Museum, despite complaints that it stresses the negative.

Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek yesterday told Likud councillor Shlomo Halevi that Joel Kantor's photos did show a distorted picture of Israeli life. But, the mayor added, he had no power, as chairman of the museum, to influence artistic decisions.

The photographs at issue show Israeli security forces making routine checks on Arabs in Israel and the territories. In one, a Gaza resident is seen being struck on the head with a shoe during interrogation. In another, a plain-clothed security officer pins an Arab from Ramle to the ground by stepping on his neck.

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## Quiet reigns in Mea She'arim after Sabbath disturbances

Jerusalem Post Staff and Itim

Quiet reigned yesterday in Mea She'arim following Saturday's pistol-firing incident in the ultra-Orthodox neighbourhood. One source in the community said yesterday that residents who had served in the IDF were considering acquiring weapons for self-defence.

Avraham Fritzi, head of the Jerusalem committee against ultra-Orthodox violence, fired his pistol in the air after his car was surrounded by an enraged crowd of ultra-Orthodox *haredim* near the Geula quarter that borders on Mea She'arim.

Police sources told Itim that witnesses had come forward to support Fritzi's claim that he had shot into the air in order to disperse an angry mob.

But yeshiva students claimed that Fritzi had kept driving through the neighbourhood streets to frighten and antagonize residents, and that he had fired into the crowd and not into the air.

The Knesset Interior Committee plans to visit Mea She'arim tomorrow without the participation of Citizens Rights Movement Knesset Members Shulamit Aloni and Yossi Sarid.

Aloni and Sarid accused committee chairman Dov Shilansky of keeping them out because of *haredi* threats to assault them physically. Shilansky told *The Jerusalem Post* last night that the two had been excluded because they were not members of his committee.

Shilansky said that he knew of no threats against secular MKs - but should any *haredi* try to attack Shinui MK Mordechai Virshupski, "who is as [unacceptable] to some as Aloni or Sarid," he would protect him with his own body.

In Tel Aviv, Aloni told the Israel British and Commonwealth Association that Premier Peres had not used the majority offered by the unity government to put the religious parties in their place.

## Bribery suspect says he gave to Likud

TEL AVIV (Itim). - Land dealer Shmuel Einav, on trial at the Tel Aviv District Court yesterday for bribery in connection with the purchase of land in the West Bank, said that he contributed to the Likud election campaign in 1984. He said he did so at the request of Deputy Defence Minister Michael Dekel (then deputy agriculture minister), with the knowledge of Vice Premier Yitzhak Shamir, at the time prime minister.

Einav said he was asked to give \$10,000 to help pay for tours to the West Bank, organized as part of the Likud campaign. When Dekel introduced him to Shamir, Einav told the

prime minister that he was having difficulty buying land for Jewish settlement in the West Bank.

According to Einav, Shamir promised, at a subsequent meeting of several land dealers, that he would handle "in a general way" the problems they had raised.

The prosecution charged that Einav was in constant contact with Avi Tzur, then an aide to Dekel. Tzur asked Einav to help the Likud, which was short of money for the election campaign. Einav allegedly gave Tzur 110,000 old shekels, followed by a further 3 million old shekels.

## BOOKLET ROW

(Continued from Page One)

members found copies of the booklet at their places when they arrived at the Agency board room for a scheduled meeting on Friday morning. They are demanding that Hoffberger, of Baltimore, resign unless he apologizes for his role in the publication or intended distribution of the booklet.

At yesterday morning's Executive meeting, chairman Arye Dulzin reportedly told Hoffberger that if he went through with his intention of "officially" distributing the booklet, he - Dulzin - would "have to resign."

Hoffberger reportedly offered not to distribute the booklet, but merely to inform delegates that copies were available in his room at the Ramada

Renaissance Hotel, where Assembly proceedings are taking place.

The Agency Executive and Board of Governors wound up the matter yesterday by appointing a committee to consider two alternative resolutions to settle the matter. One, by Mendel Kaplan of South Africa, would permit delegates to learn the subject matter of this week's meetings "from whatever background material is available" - thus enabling them to avail themselves of the booklet without Hoffberger, as it were, "pushing it on them. Under Kaplan's resolution, moreover, the cartoons would be scissored out before copies of the booklet were made available."

The second resolution, by WZO Executive member Yitzhak Meir, would insist that the cartoons disqualify the booklet from consideration.

## Moshe, father of David Levy

Moshe Levy, father of Housing Minister David Levy and of Lod Mayor Maxim Levy, died on Saturday at the age of 72 and was buried at Lod's old cemetery yesterday.

Prime Minister Peres, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin were among the ministers who visited the Levy home before the funeral.

The cabinet meeting ended early since the funeral was held at 2 p.m. Tens of thousands of mourners attended the ceremony.

Sephardi Chief Rabbi Mordechai Eliahu and two local rabbis delivered eulogies. The housing minister

also eulogized his father and spoke of his modesty and respect for others, and the difficult times the family had endured.

Moshe Levy was born in Morocco and was a carpenter in Rabat. He came to Israel in 1957 with his late wife Siga and their six sons and two daughters. The family settled in Beit She'an, where Moshe and his elder sons were often unemployed. In 1958, Moshe moved to Lod, where he found steady work.

Levy's sons were known to be extremely close to their father and frequently sought his advice. (A.Z.)

In deep sorrow we announce the passing of our dear husband, father and grandfather

**Eng. TUVIA LEVIN**

Wife: Greta née Klein  
Son and daughter-in-law: Zvi and Sarah Levin  
Grandchildren: Erez and Eilat

The shiva will be held at 10 Armonim Street, Ramat Gan. For the time and place of the funeral, please call 03-790574 between 4 and 7 p.m. today.

With great sorrow we announce the passing of our dear mother, grandmother and great-grandmother

**ANNA KRAMER**

The bereaved:  
Myron, Gloria and Phnia Kramer  
Yehuda and Aliza Kramer  
Avram and Zeva Kramer  
David and Chana Ben-Meir  
David and Shira Deutsch

בית הלוויה

With unbelievable shock and amazement we express our deepest sorrow on the untimely death of our dear friend

**Dr. MAURICE JAFFE**

President, Jerusalem Great Synagogue

To Ella, Zvi, Zofy and Eli, we extend our deep love in this hour of their great personal loss, grief and hurt.

רבנות ארץ ישראל  
Rabbi and Mrs. Philip Weinberg and Joshua Dr. and Mrs. Fried Shapira and children

הרמאדא רנאסאנסה

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Jerusalem

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1986 Annual Assembly of  
The Jewish Agency

welcomes delegates and participants  
and wishes them successful deliberations  
and a pleasant stay in Israel

RAMADA  
RENAISSANCE  
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JERUSALEM

6 Wolfson St. Givat Ram, Jerusalem. Tel. 02-528111



Hadassah Medical Organisation

Due to the possibility of a nurses strike,  
today, Monday June 23, 1986,  
the celebration of the 25th anniversary  
of Hadassah's move to Ein Kerem  
has had to be postponed.

A new date for the celebration will be announced.



## Election result projection

## Spanish Socialists retain absolute majority

MADRID. — The Spanish Socialist party won a clear majority in parliament with 45 per cent of the vote in legislative elections yesterday, according to concurred projections published when the polls closed at 8 p.m.

National Radio and television gave Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez's Socialists at least 189 seats out of the 350 in the lower house of the Cortes, the Spanish parliament, with 45 per cent of the vote.

Gonzalez's main opponent, Manuel Fraga Iribarne of the right-wing Popular Alliance, had 86 seats with 22 per cent of the vote, according to the estimate by the national TV and radio company RTVE.

Officials said turnout was high. Interior Ministry Under-Secretary

Rafael Vera said 49.6 per cent of the country's 29.2 million eligible voters in 52 districts had cast their ballots by 4 p.m.

In 1982, when the Socialists swept into office for the first time since the 1936-39 Spanish civil war with 10 million votes, 80 per cent turned out to vote.

The Socialists have campaigned on their success in getting Spain admitted into the European Economic Community, consolidating the democratic system and reducing inflation from 14 to 8 per cent.

Opponents complained unemployment has risen from 17 to 22 per cent; the highest in Europe, and said the Socialists have been unable to eradicate street crime, an influx of drugs, and terrorism carried out by



Veteran Spanish Communist Party leader Dolores Ibarruri, "La Pasionaria," now 90, at a Madrid polling station yesterday. (Reuters)

separatists seeking independence for the northern Basque region.

Centrist former prime minister Adolfo Suarez, who supervised the transition from dictatorship to democracy between 1976 and 1981, was projected to win 12 to 19 seats.

This would make his centrist Social and Democratic Centre the country's third biggest party after a period in the political wilderness.

The left-wing coalition known as the United Left (IU) was expected to obtain 12 seats.

Projections said the Basque radical party Herri Batasuna (People's Unity), which supports separatist guerrillas, would boost its tally from two to eight seats.

(AFP, AP, Reuters)

## Peru probes 'excesses' in mass jail killing

LIMA, Peru (AFP). — The government has admitted that the large number of prisoners killed — mostly Shining Path Maoist guerrillas — when the army crushed riots in three jails last Wednesday and Thursday indicated "excesses" by the military in carrying out government orders.

A communique from the office of President Alan Garcia yesterday said the official death toll at Lurigancho prison, the country's largest jail, was 124. The association of democratic lawyers charged that "all 140 political prisoners" in the jail had been killed.

The presidential statement said military courts would immediately open inquiries into the way the riots were crushed and that the government would punish those responsible for "any excesses which may have been committed while restoring order at Lurigancho prison."

The statement said 30 Shining Path prisoners had surrendered after order was restored at El Fronton Island prison, off the port of Callao. Military authorities said 30 inmates, and maybe more, had been killed in a bloody infantry assault

using rocket-launchers and heavy machine-guns.

The communique said 59 inmates had ended their rebellion at the women's prison of Santa Barbara in Callao and that two had been killed, four wounded.

Unofficial sources said 300 prisoners had been killed in the three sites.

The three jails are still considered "military zones" barred to civilians, including hundreds of prisoners' relatives seeking news. Only military doctors are allowed into the areas, a senator said.

## Ghana executes seven 'plotters'

ACCRA (AFP). — Authorities in Ghana executed seven people accused of plotting against the government of Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, state radio reported.

The radio said nine other people accused of murder, rape or armed robbery were also executed by firing squad at dawn in three cities.

The seven alleged plotters were among 15 people convicted of subversion May 15. The radio said that death sentences against two other men who are still at large had been confirmed.

## 20,000 Swiss protest against nuclear power

GENEVA (AP). — The largest-ever Swiss demonstration against nuclear power, attended by at least 20,000 people, called Saturday for an immediate shutdown of the country's five atomic plants.

Meanwhile, a congress of the Swiss Social Democratic Party voted to start a signature drive aimed at passing a national referendum to mandate a gradual phaseout of the nuclear power units and a ban on construction of new ones.

In a third unrelated weekend development, a leader of the Conservative Radical Party confirmed that a working group of the party was examining the possibility of having referendums on future licenses for atomic plants.

## Punjab peace hopes fade as Sikh leader is killed

NEW DELHI (Reuters). — Police yesterday shot dead a chief of a Sikh association in the disturbed holy city of Amritsar as Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's year-long effort to bring peace to Punjab appeared close to collapse.

Harmandir Singh Shammi, who was shot at a police checkpoint, was president of the Amritsar branch of an association that helps families of Sikhs killed in north Indian riots after the October 1984 murder of Indira Gandhi by Sikh bodyguards. Some 2,700 Sikhs died in the riots.

The Press Trust of India (PTI) reported Shammi accelerated his scooter in a bid to escape when police ordered him to stop. Two home-made revolvers with ammuni-

tion were found on his body. Disturbances went into a second day in Amritsar yesterday as Hindus protesting killings by Sikh extremists smashed cars and attacked policemen.

Home Minister Buta Singh, touring the troubled state, told reporters the situation in Amritsar was "serious and causing concern." He said police action against terrorism was being stepped up but there were no plans to call in the army.

Trouble broke out as hundreds of Hindus attended the funeral of a member of the militant Shiv Sena (army of the Hindu god Shiva) shot by police during protest riots on Saturday. Police have imposed a curfew on the city.

## Police disperse pro-Marcos rally

MANILA (Reuters). — Police let off smoke bombs and used truncheons and water cannons to disperse 2,000 stone-throwing supporters of ousted Philippine leader Ferdinand Marcos who blocked a road outside a military camp yesterday.

Witnesses said at least one person suffered gunshot wounds and three others were injured in the melee. Police said their arms were loaded only with blanks.

Marcos supporters began assembling outside Camp Cramer and

Camp Aguinaldo in the afternoon and disregarded police warnings to leave the area.

Witnesses said the demonstrators commandeered buses and deflated their tires to block a busy highway. Police moved in to disperse the crowd, which responded with stones and bottles.

Marcos's loyalists have regularly held demonstrations on Sundays to demand his return to the country, which he fled in February after a civilian-backed military revolt ended his 20-year rule.

## Drug-sniffing pig reinstated

HANOVER (Reuters). — Louise, the world's only drug-sniffing police pig, has been let back into the force after suspension and has been promoted, police authorities said yesterday.

A spokesman for the Lower Saxony State Interior Ministry said Louise had been relieved from a looming sentence to the bacon factory after the opposition Greens Party rushed to her defence in the state assembly.

The pig, which in tests had proved vastly superior to Alsatian (German Shepherd) dogs in detecting hidden drugs, was suspended from police duty earlier this year when the ministry decided she was bad for the force's image.

But the spokesman said she had now been rehabilitated, raised to the official rank of "SWS," short for "Schweffel Wildschwein," the German for "trucker pig."

Police say Louise's special talents stem from the fine sense of smell common to all pigs and the idea of training one in drug hunting came from their use by farmers in southern France to sniff out truffles.

Louise's handler, Werner Frank, says that the pig's speciality is sniffing out drugs up to 70 cm. below the surface.

She picked up the job much quicker than Alsatians and had registered a higher success rating in tests, he added.

## Diego sinks England by hand and foot

Post Sports Staff and Agencies

The magic of Diego Maradona lifted Argentina to a well-deserved 2-1 victory over England before 114,000 spectators at the Aztec Stadium yesterday, and a place in the semi-finals of the World Cup.

Maradona scored both Argentina's goals early in the second half, one with his hand and the other with his foot. He lifted the first by hand over Shilton in the 51st minute, and, despite the protests of the English team, the goal was allowed by Ali Bannaceur, the Tunisian referee.

One of the great mysteries of the World Cup was why FIFA entrusted the handling of so important and difficult a game to a referee obviously unsuitable for the post.

There was no doubt about Maradona's second goal, perhaps the most remarkable solo effort in the entire tournament so far. Taking the ball from the centre line at high speed, he wove his way past four stranded opponents and finally passed the onrushing Shilton with ease.

Clearly the English policy of not detailing somebody to stick closer to the little maestro than his own shadow misfired.

Throughout the first half, Maradona plus the rest of Argentina



THESPIAN. — Maradona performs one of his melo-dramatic falls during Argentina's 2-1 victory over England. (Reuters telephoto)

dominated the play, with England defending desperately, and apparently having no plan of attack other than wild, optimistic high kicks towards the Argentine goal. In the second half, after England were two goals down, they suddenly started to play brilliant soccer, particularly after Bobby Robson sent out Barnes as a substitute. A magnificent centre by Barnes was headed into the net by

Gary Lineker with 10 minutes to go.

A few minutes from time, Lineker nearly got a second header, ending in the net himself without the ball.

The game was played in a very sporting spirit, and only two yellow cards were issued. Maradona was frequently brought down, registering great agony, which abated very fast as he quickly resumed playing superlative soccer.

## Brazilian fans find solace in the bottle

GUADALAJARA, Mexico (Reuters). — Brazilian fans reacted to their team's World Cup defeat by France in traditional fashion by seeking consolation in the bars and restaurants of Guadalajara.

"I have taken more money in the past four hours than I do in the course of a normal weekend," said Manuel Ramirez, owner of the temporarily re-named "Bar Zico" in the Plaza de la Mariachies.

"I doubt if business could have been any better if it had been Brazil who won on penalties."

But the fans were far from happy. "Imagine Zico and Socrates both missing penalties in the same match," said Walter Mello from Bangu.

"In a way I am relieved I was in the Jalisco stadium because if I had been at home and read it in tomorrow's papers I simply wouldn't have believed it."

A tearful Marta Flores Correa, on holiday in Mexico with her sister, was similarly stunned. "Yes, I'm crying and I will cry all the way home."

"Of course, I forgive Zico for missing the penalty in the second half which would have put us in the semifinals," added Correa.

"I could forgive Zico anything but he must have scored 200 penalties before today. Why couldn't he have made it 201?"

The happiest man in the bar was Frenchman Pasqual Rivelli, who, matching the Brazilians drink for drink, stopped long enough to remark: "Brazil proved today they are a great side, but France proved they are even better."

## 'Argentina bribed Peru in '78 Cup'

LONDON (AFP). — Argentina are accused of having bribed their way to winning the 1978 World Cup in a report published by an English newspaper yesterday.

Just a few hours before England faced Argentina in last night's World Cup quarter-finals in Mexico City, *The Sunday Times* alleged that eight years ago the then-ruling military junta provided \$50 million to ensure Argentina's success.

According to *The Sunday Times* front page lead story, Argentina bribed Peru to lose so that they could reach the final. The Argentinians, needing at least four goals against Peru to pip Brazil and clinch a place in the final, won 6-0.

The newspaper claims that the bribe to Peru was paid in two forms. Argentina shipped 35,000 tons of free grain to the Peruvian port of El Callao on two ships, which arrived in July and August. The Argentine central bank then agreed to underwrite a \$50 million line of credit.

Details of the deal were said to have been provided by a former senior civil servant and two football officials, but the newspaper did not name the informants.

BASEBALL. — Boston's Roger Clemens may not have been at his best Saturday, but he was good enough to become the seventh pitcher in major-league history to start a season with 13 straight victories.

Clemens, 13-0, gave up six hits in eight innings as the Red Sox beat the Baltimore Orioles 7-2.

In other AL games, New York beat Toronto 4-2 in 10 innings, Texas ripped Oakland 3-2, California shaded Kansas City 4-3, Detroit edged Milwaukee 4-3, Cleveland downed Minnesota 7-5 and Chicago slipped Seattle 7-4.

In the National League, it was San Francisco 2, Houston 1; Atlanta 7, Cincinnati 6; Chicago 5, New York 4; Pittsburgh 14, Montreal 1; and St. Louis 5, Philadelphia 6.

TENNIS. — All male competitors at this year's Wimbledon tennis championships beginning today will be tested for drugs, the Men's International Tennis Council said.

## Farming resumes in Chernobyl, but workers to stay in area for 10-day shifts only

MOSCOW (AP). — Work has started again on six farms near the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, but farmers are allowed to till the land only for 10 days before being replaced by other workers, a Soviet newspaper said yesterday.

The English-language tri-weekly *Moscow News* said in a brief report that "field work has resumed on six farms in Chernobyl district" after being "interrupted" by the April 26 accident which ripped open the No. 4 reactor at the Ukrainian power station, releasing a cloud of radiation eventually detected around the world.

The report did not say how many farms were shut down by the accident, specify the acreage now being cultivated, or give the location of the

six farms that have started working. "The farmers started inter-row potato cultivation and fodder preparation," *Moscow News* said. "After examining the fields, experts determined there was no danger in resuming this work."

"The farmers' health, as well as the condition of the land, air and water are being constantly monitored," it said.

Echoing the tone of much recent Soviet reporting on the Chernobyl disaster, it concluded that "life, with its summer cares, is returning to normal in the countryside."

There has been no word on when the bulk of more than 100,000 people evacuated from areas of the northern Ukraine and southern

Byelorussia after the accident will return to their homes.

Two small villages in the 30-km. zone around the plant that was evacuated have been reported declared safe for re-occupation, but other reports have made clear that extra housing is being built for occupation by some evacuees by winter, while still others have left the northern Ukraine to work in other parts of the country.

Thousands of children from the northern Ukraine, including more than 250,000 children from Kiev, the Ukrainian capital 130 km. south of the Chernobyl plant, have been sent to Black Sea resorts or to camps in other parts of the Soviet Union for summer vacations.

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# YES.

## AN OPEN LETTER TO THE DELEGATES TO THE JEWISH AGENCY ASSEMBLY

Less than a thousand adults inhabit the vast Southern Negev — Arava region of Israel, in the settlements Yabai, Shizafon, Neve Harif, Lotan, Ketura, Grofit, Yotvata, Samar, Elipaz, and Eliot.

Grand visions tend to be forgotten when a nation tightens its belt. The Southern Negev, furthest, emptiest, and most easily forgotten, is populated by those who took Ben-Gurion's grand vision to heart. Young Israelis and Americans who turned their backs on 'the good life,' and opted to make their homes in the desert.

Optimistic conceptions of agricultural export success proved to be wishful thinking, but a native strategy is at work in several areas of endeavour as a base for the future. Precisely now, the Jewish Agency must respond with its share. Sadly, having for decades related to the Southern Negev almost as an afterthought, the Jewish Agency now responds with budget cutbacks.

**YES.** One settlement is just barely on its feet economically, four more are buried in debts after a decade of agricultural illusions, four more are underway on paper only. For them, the Agency cutback is fact, and a guarantee of stagnation to come.

**YES.** A national policy for development and redistribution of water in the Southern Negev has been shaped. Settlements with 'better' water have agreed to share with others, or swap for more saline water. The Jewish Agency is not against the project, but since 1983 has only informed the settlers that they should wait in patience.

**YES.** Following Agency-sponsored planting of many thousands of date palms in the past decade, a modern regional cooperative processing plant was recently established. Over a million dollars of short-term commercial debt was incurred by the settlers in lieu of promised Agency participation. The Jewish Agency is in favour of the project, but 20 months of research has yet to yield the Agency's position paper on the issue.

**YES.** A dream to grow denizens of the tropical seas in cages and integrated pools in the Gulf of Eilat, for sale to high price markets throughout the world, has moved from research to pilot plant implementation. Encouraged by the Agency, the Southern Negev settlements have laboured and provided seed money to continue R & D. The Agency recognizes its role in principle, but in practice there is more short-term commercial debt for the sponsoring settlements.

**BUT...** the future of the Southern Negev-Arava region cannot remain an almost forgotten issue. The human side of the settlements is a remarkable example of Israel-Diaspora cooperation. The Jewish Agency must stand by its responsibilities for economic development.

The Southern Negev-Arava Action Committee

# BUT...



## HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

300 cars stolen every month and dismantled for spare parts, then burned

# Police helpless against car thieves

By YORAM GAZIT  
For The Jerusalem Post

Three hundred cars are being stolen from Israeli cities every month and being taken apart by professionals in the Gaza Strip and the Arab-populated Little Triangle east of Kfar Sava. The Jerusalem Post has learned. The parts are later sold in those cities and on the black market in other parts of Israel. The police admit that they are unable to stop the wave of thefts.

The aftermath of the Six Day War of 1967 brought with it both drug smuggling from the surrounding Arab countries and car theft in Israel with the cars being smuggled into the Gaza Strip and Egypt.

These crimes were for the most part carried out by criminals in the Israeli Arab community and residents of the administered territories. In the case of drug smuggling, the Arabs were pushed out by Israeli criminals; but the car thefts are still mainly carried out by Arab gangs.

Until the return of Sinai to Egypt, the desert was a convenient hiding place for stolen Israeli cars.

The thieves used camels to tow the cars into the desert, where they were covered with plastic sheeting and buried in the sand.

After Sinai was returned to Egypt, the stolen cars continued to be sold in that country.

One can still see cars in Cairo with Egyptian licence plates and Israeli stickers on their windshields. Insurance company representatives charged that the police are refusing to recognize the full extent of the problem.

No one in the police is willing to say that the thefts are being carried out by organized gangs. However, as one private investigator put it: "When there is so much money involved, some underworld figures must be in on it."

The investigator, who has investigated car thefts for a large insurance company, said that some of the cars taken to the Triangle were stolen for nationalistic motives.

The cars, which are being stolen from Tel Aviv and the surrounding areas (and from some convenient places like the parking lot of the Meir Hospital in Kfar Sava), are driven to side roads near Tira and Taiba, where they are taken apart.

After they are stripped of their parts, the cars are burnt so that no finger prints or tell-tale marks are left behind.

In the fields near Tira and Taiba, one can see dozens of burnt wrecks among the trees.

Observers say that, if some cars are stolen for nationalistic reasons, this is not the case in Gaza

where they enrich the already large Gaza spare parts trade.

Some cars are more popular than others. Until recently Mercedes and Peugeot were favourites, but now Subaru, Volvo and BMW are more popular.

The most valuable vehicles being stolen are heavy trucks and semi-trailers.

Last Sunday a crew of the Galgalim company, hired by the insurance agencies to locate stolen vehicles, found a brand new Volvo semi-trailer in a Gaza citrus grove. The truck had been stolen the night before from Kiryat Malachi.

Adi Molad, a member of the search team, told The Jerusalem Post that he had also found welding equipment, screwdrivers and other tools for dismantling the truck.

"Spare parts are pure gold," said Roni Ga'i, the owner of Hyper Helel, a large junk yard in the industrial area of Petah Tikva. The demand increases the number of thefts, according to Ga'i.

"People in Israel don't understand that it is a vicious circle. They want the cheap parts which they can get in the Gaza Strip, but they later pay for that with their own cars which are being stolen for the same purpose," said Ga'i.

He also complained of police inaction in the face of the growing wave of thefts.



A stolen car burning recently in an outlying spot in the Triangle.

## Prisoner of Zion tells harrowing tales of maltreatment

# Hungry Soviet prisoners sometimes eat dog meat

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Correspondent

TEL AVIV. - Soviet prison-camp inmates occasionally supplement their diets with dog meat sold by their guards. This was reported last week by Prisoner of Zion Zachar Sonnenshein to his wife Tatiana, according to the Chicago Action for Soviet Jewry.

Sonnenshein, who complained of malnutrition, told his wife that camp guards sometimes appear with a stray dog and sell it to "privileged inmates" - those who collaborate with the authorities and have money to pay for it.

Tatiana Sonnenshein visited her husband a fortnight ago at the Bazoyoi labour camp near Irkutsk in eastern Siberia. When she arrived, Zachar was in a punishment cell to which he had been sentenced for 11 days because he had failed to salute one of the wardens.

When the temperature in the cell dropped to below freezing, Sonnenshein went on a hunger strike to protest against the cold. At first his wife was not allowed to see him because of the special punishment; but a sit-down

strike of her own got him released from the cell on June 7 for a two-hour visit.

Sonnenshein told his wife that the inmates had not received any soap for two months and that, at the best of times, two bars were handed out to every 10 prisoners. There was an outbreak of hepatitis in the camp but the prisoners were not being treated.

The prisoners' food rations are valued by the authorities at half a ruble a day, or 15 rubles a month. This is about 10 per cent of the average Soviet salary and cannot buy much food. But the prisoners at Bazoyoi receive even less food than could be purchased with that amount. Sonnenshein mentioned the guards bringing dogs with them and selling them to hungry inmates for food. Possession of such extra "meat rations" provided the favoured status prisoners with an additional source of power over other inmates.

Prisoners are frequently assaulted at Bazoyoi; in camp slang the beatings are referred to as "getting younger."

Sonnenshein, 35, is a physics teacher. He was sentenced in June 1984 to three years' imprisonment for "defaming the Soviet state."

## Knesset should condemn slander of state attorneys

By MENACHEM SHALEV  
For The Jerusalem Post

The "crusade of personal defamation" and "malicious charges" against three senior attorneys in the Office of the Attorney General, intended to lead to the distancing of top echelons of the Justice Ministry from the centres of decision-making," their colleagues charged yesterday.

The three, Deputy State Attorney Dorit Beinisch, Deputy Attorney-General Yehudit Karp, and Assistant to the Attorney-General, Yehudit Tsur, were senior members of the team working on the General Security Service case with former attorney general Yitzhak Zamir, and were all attacked recently for their role in the investigation.

Last week MK Haim Druckman (Morasha) reportedly sent a letter to Premier Peres charging that one of the attorneys had had a romantic attachment to one of the three senior GSS officers whose complaint against GSS head, Avraham Shalom, sparked the current scandal, and that she could therefore not be objective.

MK Ehud Olmert (Likud) wrote to Zamir's successor, Yosef Harish,

querying the propriety of Tsur's having taken part in a press conference that Zamir gave on his retirement, in which Zamir allegedly leaked state secrets.

The three attorneys were referred to by an "inner cabinet member as 'Zamir's Amazons'."

Yesterday, their Justice Ministry colleagues held protest meetings throughout the country during office hours.

"We cannot fulfil our duties when the sword of ugly and base libel continues to be brandished over the personal lives and professional integrity of ministry workers," they said.

Justice Ministry workers told The Jerusalem Post that they were disappointed that the cabinet and the Knesset had not come to the defence of the three and that the chairman of the Israel Bar had not spoken up on the matter.

Beinisch and Karp have both come under attack from right-wing circles in the past: Beinisch for her role in bringing members of the Jewish terror underground to trial, and Karp for a report released last year criticising legal practices on the West Bank.

## Cigarette 'crisis' gradually easing

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. - Local cigarette supplies were gradually replenished yesterday after shortages caused by a fortnight of slow-downs and workers refusing to work overtime at the Dubek factory. Employees resumed regular work on Friday.

While time cigarettes were still in short supply in many kiosks the cigarette "panic" and hoarding of last week are over.

According to a compromise reached in the local labour court, Dubek's management and employees will renew their negotiations over wage demands this week.

Workers' sanctions led to a 35 per cent decrease in cigarette production last week.

Tel Aviv supermarkets limited cigarette purchases to five packets a person.

The cigarette shortage was created by people who started hoarding when they heard there were sanctions at Dubek. Dubek spokesman Yair Tidhar said yesterday.

The cigarette distributors are also threatening to impose sanctions because their commission has not been raised since last year, despite promises from the Industry and Trade Ministry, it was learned.

Dubek is demanding a 30 per cent price hike on cigarettes on the basis of the present price rises, as well as a 20 per cent rise as compensation for losses incurred by the plant during the past two years. Tidhar said that Dubek lost some NIS 2 million last year due to the Industry and Trade Ministry's refusal to allow it to raise prices.

## HOME NEWS IN BRIEF

### Former terrorist can be expelled

The High Court of Justice yesterday agreed to a request by a former convicted terrorist, Zaki Abu-Setita, and cancelled an application he had previously made against a decision by the security authorities to declare him deportable.

Abu-Setita was one of the convicted terrorists exchanged in the deal struck with the Ahmed Jibril group last year. The security authorities maintain that, after his release, Abu-Setita, who lives in the Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, again engaged in subversive activities, and declared him deportable.

Abu-Setita applied to the High Court against his imminent deportation and the court issued a temporary injunction preventing his expulsion, pending discussion of the case.

Recently Abu-Setita asked to cancel his application for personal reasons; but the state attorney's office objected, saying it was a question of principle that ought to be considered by the court.

### Ashdod bomb blast

ASHDOD (Itim). - A bomb exploded yesterday morning near a local petrol station and post office branch. A 59-year-old postwoman was stunned by the explosion and lost consciousness. She was given first-aid treatment and sent home. No one else was injured and no damage was done.

Police held several suspects for questioning.

### Ofakim workers

Workers at the Of Ar textile plant in the Western Negev development town of Ofakim stormed into the local council chairman's office yesterday, after 160 workers received their notice. The local council chairman said the new wave of dismissals could paralyze the town.

Of Ar has not paid its workers their wages for three months, Kol Yisrael reported.

### Israel - EC chamber of commerce

PARIS (JTA). - A joint chamber of commerce linking Israel to the 12-nation European Economic Community will be inaugurated today in Paris at a ceremony to be attended by Vice Premier Yitzhak Shamir.

The Common Market is Israel's main trading partner, selling Israeli goods worth \$3.8 billion each year but buying only some \$2 billion worth of Israeli exports. The chamber of commerce will, *inter alia*, attempt to improve this negative

### Two jailed for raping mentally retarded woman

HAIFA (Itim). - The courts must take a stand to protect helpless young women against rapists, the district court said here yesterday sentencing two men to prison for raping a 21-year-old mentally retarded woman.

Shimon Mualim, 19, of Kiryat Ata, was sentenced to six months in jail and nine months suspended. Avraham Azriel, 28, a deaf-mute, was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment and 18 months suspended.

Sentencing of a third man, Yehuda Suissa, was suspended on the recommendation of a committee that found him fit to stand trial but nevertheless said he should be placed under observation for six months in a closed institution.

### Egypt expert aids Israeli limnologists

Israel is now examining the possibility of applying recommendations made by an Egyptian expert on shore conservation.

The expert, Mahmud Hagi, last week ended a week-long visit here as guest of the Oceanography and Limnology Institute of the Ministry of Energy and Infrastructure. During his visit the Egyptian scientist consulted with institute staff on Israeli coastal problems.

### Inappropriate spot for a love tryst

TEL AVIV (Itim). - Bereaved parents, who complained to the Egged bus cooperative after they found a driver making love in a parked bus outside the Kiryat Shaul military cemetery, were told that Egged "only considers written complaints."

The parents asked Egged to instruct its drivers to find a more suitable place for intimacy in their free time "than a location where boys who will never have the chance of love are buried."

## Row over woman rabbi as U.S. Navy chaplain

By WALTER RUBY  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NEW YORK. - The Jewish commission that has approved rabbis as chaplains for the U.S. armed forces since World War I appeared to break apart last week over the issue of whether women rabbis should be allowed to serve as chaplains.

The crisis occurred after the Orthodox Rabbinical Council of America announced it was withdrawing from the Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy because the Reform movement's Central Conference of American Rabbis had approved a woman rabbi as a U.S. Navy chaplain.

However, Solomon Greenfield, associate director of the Jewish Welfare Board, the organization that has administered the Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy throughout its 69-year history, said that the commission's director, Rabbi David Lipp, was optimistic that the commission would find a way to continue functioning.

The woman who precipitated the crisis in the commission is Rabbi Julie Schwartz, 26, who was ordained this month as a rabbi at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. Schwartz will be the first woman to serve on active duty as a Jewish chaplain.

The Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy comprises representatives from the Reform, Conservative and Orthodox movements. The commission

sion operated under a voluntary arrangement with the military, reviewing and then recommending candidates for chaplaincy.

But the Defence Department recognizes each of the three major Jewish denominations as endorsing agents, and will accept nominations from any of the three without a formal endorsement from the commission.

When Schwartz's application came before the commission earlier this year, the commission did not act on it because of Orthodox opposition. The CCAR then independently sent Schwartz's application to the Defence Department, which accepted it.

If the commission is unable to resume its work because of the Orthodox defection, it is expected that the three denominations will continue making separate chaplaincy recommendations to the military.

Orthodox sources expressed bitterness that the CCAR had sent Schwartz's name directly to the Defence Department after failing to receive an endorsement from the commission. Rabbi Louis Bernstein, executive director of the Orthodox RCA, announced his movement's decision to leave the commission during the RCA's 50th anniversary convention last week in Baltimore.

"When they endorsed a woman," Bernstein said of the CCAR, "We said: That's it. The Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy of the JWB is finished."

## Jews plotting to hypnotize the world, Cairo paper reports

CAIRO (Itim). - An article published last week in the mass-circulation daily *Akhbar al-Yom* warned of a Jewish plot to take over the world.

The writer, Abo al-Salam Daoud, says that Israel is "hypnotizing" the world and causing it to lose all will. The surprising thing is that the plan is being implemented exactly as laid out in the Talmud, he continued.

The plan, Daoud writes, includes Zionist infiltration and taking over of a superpower to exploit it for Zionist purposes. The Zionist lobby in the U.S. now has the power to head the American "horse" in the direction of Zionist interests, he charged.

The Zionists are using abominable means to blackmail Americans everywhere, and Jews are infiltrating the American administration so that they can direct it according to their will, Daoud charges. In addition, the Zionists have built a sophisticated propaganda apparatus with

which to control public opinion and suppress the Pollard spy scandal.

The Arabs, he writes, need to build their own propaganda network to counter Zionist propaganda.

One should not think that the meaning of peace between Israel and Egypt is the end of the conflict, since Israel has open aspirations, which are detailed in the Talmud, according to Daoud. Egypt's desire for peace does not spell Egypt's acquiescence to those aspirations.

Daoud concludes that Egypt cannot be saved from Zionist aspirations unless it combats them with similar propaganda weapons. Egypt has ended its war effort and is beginning a greater new endeavour - for peace and cold war.

Israel has several times complained about the anti-Semitic tone of many articles in the Egyptian press, but its complaints have met only with the answer that Egypt has a free press and the authorities are not responsible.

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# The World Is Watching



CANBERRA

## South Africa Is Testing The Patience of the West

By NEIL A. LEWIS

INSIDE its own borders, if nowhere else, South Africa's white-minority Government demonstrated its power and reach last week. Although restrictions on news reporting made it difficult to judge with certainty, a situation close to martial law prevailed in the country's black townships, and it appeared that the authorities had contained or at least muffled the signs of black anger, if only for the time being.

But as the South African security apparatus enforced its will at home, the pace of efforts in Europe and in the United States to impose economic penalties on the Pretoria Government was quickening. Although the push for sanctions was a response to the state of emergency imposed a week ago by President P. W. Botha of South Africa, it has also served to isolate President Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain, who are resisting further penalties.

The most surprising development came in the House of Representatives, which voted for a complete trade embargo and a requirement that American businesses and citizens divest themselves of holdings in South Africa. Although the prospect of the measure's becoming law appeared remote at present, it was a powerful signal of American anger. In London, Mrs. Thatcher faced harsh questioning in the House of Commons over her stand against economic sanctions. That came a week after a Commonwealth group gave up efforts to mediate a settlement in South Africa and called for coordinated economic penalties as the last nonviolent means still available to the West.

In Luxembourg, Western European foreign ministers were weighing their own set of sanctions. A United Nations conference in Paris called for a worldwide boycott of companies doing business with South Africa, but its main trading partners, the United States, Britain and West Germany, stayed away from the conference.

Pretoria's emergency decree, the harshest in recent years, was intended to prevent political protests as the country's black majority observed Monday's 10th anniversary of bloody rioting in Soweto, perhaps the most significant date in the annals of the black struggle there.

According to Bishop Desmond M. Tutu, the Nobel Prize winner, the day brought "a sullen kind of peace" to the sprawling black community, and a one-day strike left streets in nearby Johannesburg deserted. Officials reported that more than 50 people have been killed since the decree took effect, bringing the death toll to more than 1,500 in 21 months of racial turmoil. A curfew and



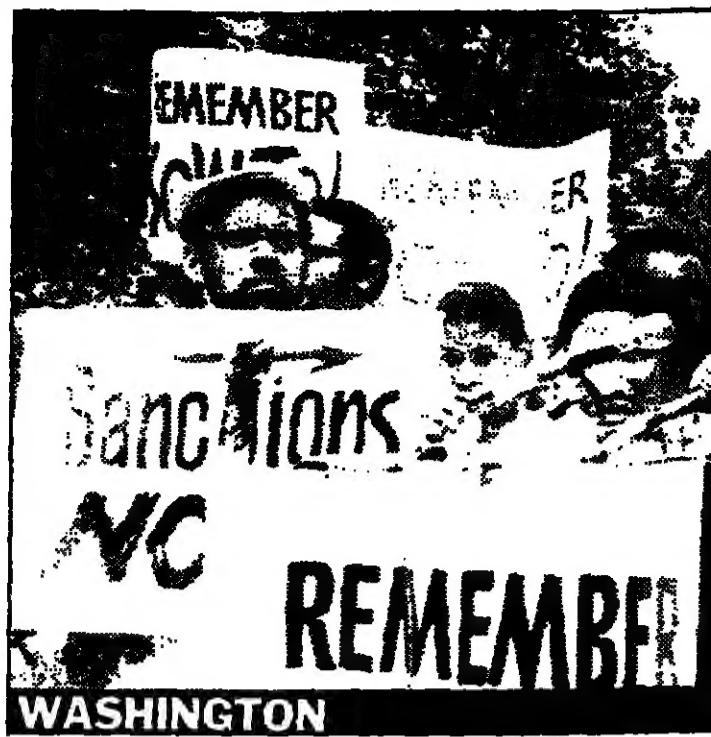
PARIS

As South Africa tightened its nationwide state of emergency, anti-apartheid demonstrators around the world took to the streets; some commemorated the uprising in Soweto, Johannesburg's black satellite city, 10 years ago.

### LONDON

other restrictions were imposed in black townships on the restive Eastern Cape, and several thousand people, many of them township, church and union leaders, were detained, unofficial reports said. The white-dominated President's Council acted to give the authorities permanent power to detain opponents for six months without trial, and to declare "unrest areas" in which police powers will be virtually unlimited.

In Washington, the House had anticipated voting on a bill containing a measured series of sanctions that had



THE HAGUE



Agence France-Press (Paris, the Hague); Reuters (London); Associated Press (Canberra); United Press International

been approved by the Foreign Affairs Committee. But before it could be voted on, Representative Ronald V. Dellums, a California Democrat, offered as a substitute a sweeping series of penalties. To the surprise of both supporters and opponents, the House approved the substitute by voice vote. The bill would impose a full trade embargo — except for strategic materials exempted by the President — and give an estimated 280 American companies 180 days to shut their operations in South Africa.

Representative Mark Sijlander, a Michigan Republican who had led the Administration's fight against sanctions in the House, said the Dellums measure was so severe that it would be either rejected by the Senate or vetoed by Mr. Reagan. "Sanctions are dead, finished," Mr. Sijlander said. The President blunted a move in Congress for more serious economic reprisals last year by issuing an executive order that banned the import of gold Kruggerands and barred some loans and the sale of computer and nuclear equipment to the South African Government.

Underlying the activity in Washington and Europe is the vexing question of whether economic penalties work. Secretary of State George P. Shultz and his aides have taken to comparing the imposition of sanctions with a drunken binge. You may feel good, he has said repeatedly in recent days, "but when you wake up the next day, what have you got?"

It may well be that the threat of sanctions is at least as effective as sanctions themselves. While many political scientists argue that they do not work, it also seems clear that some of Pretoria's actions over the last year, including the repeal of the hated pass laws, which limited black movements, have been a response to the growing Western pressure for economic penalties, as well as to the growing black unrest at home. The campaign has helped jar the country's economy and battered its currency, the rand, which closed the week just above 40 cents, down from 51 cents a year ago. "The sanctions campaign is the main reason you are seeing whites in South Africa call for the end to apartheid," said Representative Howard Wolpe, the Michigan Democrat who chairs the subcommittee on Africa.

The White House's resolve against economic penalties did not prevent it from attempting to exploit the House action, warning Pretoria that the vote was yet another sign that American patience was wearing thin. The Administration's may be as well. Mr. Reagan personally appealed to Mr. Botha to end the state of emergency. Said a White House aide: the reaction "was pretty well a 'bug-off' approach to the President."

At the week's end, Chester A. Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, acknowledged that South Africa probably would not lift the state of emergency soon. "We have been registering our views through diplomatic channels, but we have not been very effective," he said. "They have struck a defiant pose."

### New Chief Justice

## Has Reagan Got the Court He Wants?

By STUART TAYLOR Jr.

WASHINGTON

IN the heat of the 1984 Presidential campaign, Justice William H. Rehnquist gave a speech entitled "Presidential Appointments to the Supreme Court." It is natural and proper, he said, for a President to seek to shape the course of the law by naming Justices "sympathetic to his political or philosophical principles." But, he added, the effort "is apt to be only partially successful."

If President Reagan is only partially successful in reversing the direction of the Federal courts, it will not be for lack of trying. In selecting Justice Rehnquist to succeed the retiring Chief Justice, Warren E. Burger, and Judge Antonin Scalia to join the Supreme Court, Mr. Reagan has named men of impressive talents and appealing personalities whose records on the bench seem totally compatible with the Administration's views.

On issues including abortion, affirmative action, school prayer, busing, Presidential powers, the death penalty, obscenity, crime and civil liberties, Justice Rehnquist has been the Court's most conservative member since he was confirmed in 1972. Judge Scalia has been equally consistent, as a law professor and since Mr. Reagan made him an appellate judge in Washington in 1982.

At least one more appointment would be needed to produce a dramatic change in the Court's moderate course — in particular to restrict abortion rights. But Justice Rehnquist's ability to persuade colleagues in close cases will be enhanced by his new position. And he and Judge Scalia are both graceful writers with the intellectual firepower to plant seeds of legal change even in dissent. Justice Rehnquist delights in the barbed epigram. Judge Scalia's writing blends analytical rigor with visceral intensity.

A standard cliché about the Supreme Court — that a President has no way of telling what an appointee will do once ensconced in a lifetime job — is at least partly myth. In this respect, the choices of Justice Rehnquist and Judge Scalia are in instructive contrast with President Eisenhower's 1953 appointment of Chief Justice Earl Warren and, to a lesser degree, with Mr. Reagan's 1981 appointment of Justice Sandra Day O'Connor. Chief Justice Warren horrified Mr. Eisenhower with liberal rulings on criminal law and civil rights; Justice O'Connor has turned out to be a more moderate conservative than Justice Rehnquist, going against the Administration on some major issues, including school prayer.

But ideological purity was not the primary criterion in those selections. Mr. Eisenhower had earlier promised the job to then-Governor Warren of California, a man of national stature. Mr. Reagan was fulfilling a campaign pledge to name the first woman Justice.

In the cases of Justice Rehnquist and Judge Scalia, however, Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d is at the helm of an activist Justice Department bent on moving the courts to the right. In his radio address yesterday, Mr. Reagan said his Supreme Court nominees were "representative of the high caliber of our Federal court appointments." He also urged the Senate to confirm his stalled nomination of Daniel A. Manion for a Federal appellate judgeship, assailing opponents for partisanship. "I believe the Senate should consider only a nominee's qualifications and character, not his political views," Mr. Reagan said.

But many Democrats and some Republicans say Mr. Reagan is not practicing what he preaches. An increasingly single-minded Administration drive to put conservative ideologues on the bench, they say, has produced some lower court candidates notable less for their legal professionalism than for their extremism or racial insensitivity — though Justice Rehnquist and Judge Scalia seem immune to such charges.

The point of Justice Rehnquist's 1984 speech was less that people change once named to the Court — although some have — than that even Presidents and judicial nominees who agree on the current issues of importance lack "the foresight to see what the great issues of 10 or 15 years hence are to be." President Roosevelt, he said, sought and got Justices who would stop the Court from striking down the New Deal, but a few years later, when civil liberties issues became central, the Roosevelt Court

### The Justices of the Supreme Court

	Appointment Year	President	Present age
William J. Brennan Jr.	1956	Eisenhower	80
Byron R. White	1962	Kennedy	69
Thurgood Marshall	1967	Johnson	77
Warren E. Burger	1969	Nixon	78
Harry A. Blackmun	1970	Nixon	77
Lewis F. Powell Jr.	1971	Nixon	78
William H. Rehnquist	1971	Nixon	61
John Paul Stevens	1975	Ford	66
Sandra Day O'Connor	1981	Reagan	56
Antonin Scalia**	1986	Reagan	50

\*Retiring

\*\*Nominated last week

"was rent asunder in rancorous squabbling."

A dominant conservative block on a future Court might, for example, have to sort out the tension between conservatives' professed devotion to judicial restraint — which would mean an end to what Judge Scalia as recently as Friday called "judicial intrusion into the business of the political branches" — and the urge to strike down economic regulations offensive to their free-market philosophy. Such a conflict, Justice Scalia has said, "presents the moment of truth for many conservatives who have been criticizing the courts in recent years."

### Arms Control:

## The President Senses an 'Opportunity'

THE Soviet Union is as totalitarian and expansionist as ever, President Reagan said last week, but when it comes to arms control "a moment of opportunity" may be at hand. He said Moscow had begun to make "a serious effort" at the moribund negotiations in Geneva.

Addressing a high school graduation in Glassboro, N.J., where President Lyndon B. Johnson met in 1967 with the Soviet Prime Minister, Alexei N. Kosygin, Mr. Reagan spoke positively of the Russians and urged them to resume planning for a summit. White House aides said the President wanted to assure Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, that Washington means business on arms control.

Mr. Reagan's intentions have been an issue since he announced last month that the Administration would no longer be bound by the unruly 1979 treaty limiting strategic nuclear weapons. Rejecting that policy, the House voted last week, 256 to 145, to urge Mr. Reagan to stay inside the treaty's numerical limits. The Senate Armed Services Committee voted a similar appeal, 10 to 9.

Although denouncing talk of scuttling the treaty, the Russians continued to come up with proposals at Geneva. Last week, they suggested verification measures to enforce limits on long-



range mobile missiles, Administration officials reported. The measures, which resembled American proposals for the shorter-range missiles in Europe, included monitoring weapons as they leave factories, restricting their deployment to easily surveyed areas and mounting them on railroad cars designed for spotting by satellite.

Mr. Gorbachev also discussed another recent proposal. It would limit each superpower to 8,000 nuclear warheads or bombs and 1,500 missiles or planes capable of striking the other side's territory. The United States would have to restrict research on space-based defenses and agree to abide by the antiballistic missile treaty, signed in 1972, for at least 15 more years.

Some Administration officials view this treaty as an obstacle to the President's Strategic Defense Initiative, also known as Star Wars.

Resisting Mr. Reagan's request for \$5.4 billion for space-based defense, the Senate Armed Services Committee again took issue with the President by a 10-to-9 vote, cutting the authorization to \$3.95 billion. A House subcommittee approved only \$3.6 billion.

Such deep cuts, said Larry Speakes, the White House spokesman, would "make it unlikely" that the Star Wars timetable could be met.



# The World

## Peruvian Troops Kill Hundreds In Rebel Uprisings

Revolutionaries suffered a devastating defeat in Peru last week when Government troops killed 250 rebels in uprisings at three prisons. The next day, a guerrilla plot to blow up a meeting of the Socialist International backfired.

But even in defeat, the insurgents, who were thought to be members of the Maoist Shining Path, demonstrated just how powerful they have become. The prison rebellions were well-coordinated, and the inmates were equipped with submachine guns, automatic rifles and explosives. For a time, the rebels, who had constructed a maze of tunnels, were virtually in control of El Fronton, an island prison. The troops used

net, however, he was said to advocate large domestic budget cuts to satisfy the International Monetary Fund, which is demanding that Mexico cut its public-sector deficit in half within the next year. "Silva Herzog argued that Mexico had no choice but to go along with the fund's demands, but he seemed to ignore the fact that we have already pushed as far as we can with austerity," said an official. "He became a defender of the I.M.F. without considering the internal repercussions."

Officials said Mexico's debt strategy would be coordinated by President Miguel de la Madrid and executed by Mr. Petricioli. Bankers and analysts say an I.M.F. accord, perhaps only days away, would call for scaling back subsidies of food and transportation. That will pave the way for commercial banks to offer new loans, the analysts say, and make limited concessions on interest rates.



Police guard Lima prison after rioting by leftist prisoners.

antitank missiles to destroy concrete barricades there and at a prison on the outskirts of Lima. The military said three soldiers were killed.

Downtown Lima had been under tight security for a week in preparation for a meeting of leaders of the Socialist International. Streets were cordoned off, and police patrolled with submachine guns and bomb-sniffing dogs.

Nevertheless, a mortar exploded near the building where the Socialists had gathered to discuss disarmament and third world debt. The blast, which killed a woman who was attempting to mount the attack, occurred a few minutes after President Alan Garcia arrived to open the congress. Citing security concerns, the prime ministers of Italy and Norway canceled plans to attend.

When he came to power nearly a year ago, President Garcia pledged to open a dialogue with Shining Path. But the leftist extremists rejected any compromise and escalated terrorist attacks in the nation's cities.

## A New Manager For Mexico's Debt

There will be a new hand holding Mexico's bat as it tries to resolve its latest debt crisis. The powerful Finance Minister, Jesus Silva Herzog, lost his portfolio last week in a surprising shuffle. He was replaced by Gustavo Petricioli, head of the state-owned Nacional Financiera development bank.

Mexican officials and international bankers, however, seem to have concluded that there was less to the change than met the eye. A fresh face, some of them said, might have more credibility with foreign lenders and make austerity measures more palatable at home. Still, there was agreement all around that Mexico, badly stung by falling oil prices and in need of at least \$6 billion in new credits through December, would not change its basic approach.

Mr. Silva Herzog, a Yale-educated lawyer who got good marks for his handling of Mexico's 1982 debt crisis, had publicly warned that his country might have to suspend interest payments on its \$97 million foreign debt. Behind the closed doors of the Cabi-

## Afghan Visitors Bring Complaints

President Reagan gave the Afghan guerrillas increased visibility last week, and they promptly used it to complain about what they are not getting — diplomatic recognition and long-promised Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.

Mr. Reagan, receiving four leaders of the seven-party coalition of Afghan Mujahideen at the White House, reiterated his "unshakable" support for their fight against the Soviet-installed Government in Kabul.

But diplomatic recognition would be "premature," said Larry Speakes, the White House spokesman. First, the guerrillas ought to act more like a government, another senior official explained, taking greater control of Afghan territory and overcoming disunity.

Underlining the point, two other leaders who were not in the visiting delegation attacked the meeting with Mr. Reagan, which they contended, had not been authorized. Burhanuddin Rabbani, speaking for the visitors, dismissed the split as a minority view.

Rather than extend recognition to the guerrillas, the Administration is backing United Nations-sponsored negotiations with the Kabul Government. Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, has hinted at a readiness to accept a deal that would restore the country's former non-aligned policies. But, Mr. Rabbani objected, "since Gorbachev came to power, atrocities have increased, terrorism and border violations in Pakistan have dramatically risen." More than 100,000 Soviet troops are stationed in Afghanistan.

As for the Stingers, Mr. Rabbani insisted they had been neither promised nor received. Members of Congress have expressed fears that the Stingers might fall into the hands of terrorists.

Mr. Rabbani also complained about a report that guerrillas were growing opium to help finance their war. Producing drugs is prohibited by Islamic tenets and by guerrilla commanders, he insisted, and persists only on a small scale in remote areas. American officials estimate that this year's crop of illicit Afghan opium will be 800 metric tons.

## Fixing the Blame At Chernobyl

In the weeks following the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power station, the Soviet press was filled with accounts of the heroism and selflessness of the stricken plant's workforce. Last week, though, Pravda painted quite a different picture.

The Communist Party newspaper reported that the director and the chief engineer have been dismissed and that other top officials have been accused of offenses ranging from negligence to desertion in the April 26 explosion, which released a cloud of radioactive materials into the atmosphere and has so far claimed the lives of 28 people, according to the Russians.

The report said the director, V. Bryukhanov, and the chief engineer, N. Pomin, had failed "to insure correct and firm leadership... and displayed irresponsibility and inability to organize." One deputy director, R. Solov'yev, fled his post "at the most difficult moment," the newspaper said, while two other deputies "did little to ease the living and working conditions of people working at the station." At a recent session of the Kiev regional party organization, the paper added, the entire party committee of the Chernobyl station came in for heavy criticism.

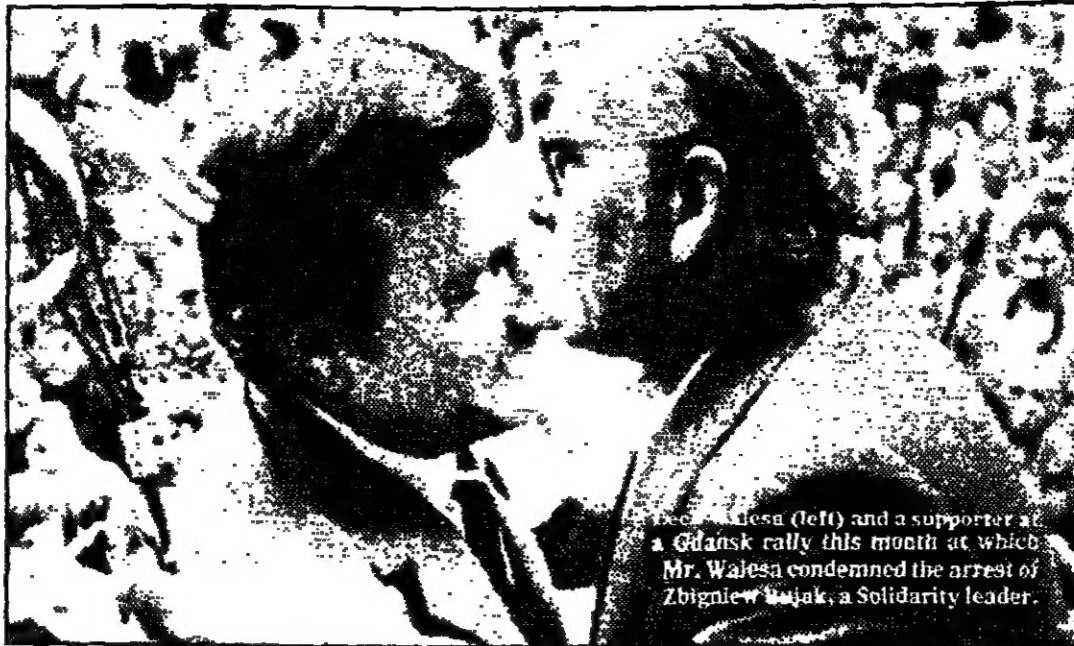
Pravda said there was an urgent need to fill vacancies at the plant, adding: "Because of insufficient work with people, a portion of workers from the power station are still 'on the run.'"

Richard Levine,  
Milt Freudenheim  
and James F. Clarity



Finance Minister Gustavo Petricioli.

## General Jaruzelski Will Report to the Party Congress Next Week



General Jaruzelski (left) and a supporter at a Gdansk rally this month at which Mr. Walesa condemned the arrest of Zbigniew Bujak, a Solidarity leader.

## Solidarity Is Beginning to Show the Signs of Strain

By MICHAEL T. KAUFMAN

THE resistance movement that formed around the Solidarity free labor unions five years ago is dividing and fraying under pressure of tactical successes by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's Government.

Until recently, the outlawed movement, although ideologically pluralistic, showed remarkable discipline and unity. Even now, despite widespread dejection and apathy, few Poles would say that the heroes, symbols and visions of Solidarity have been permanently eclipsed. But even fewer would deny that the initiative has passed to the General, who reports next week to the first party congress since the Solidarity era.

The Government's greatest recent success was the arrest of Zbigniew Bujak, the 31-year-old underground leader who had directed a network of clandestine groups that published hundreds of illegal publications, organized election boycotts and maintained dues-paying cells in factories. He had been in hiding since martial law was proclaimed in December 1981. For many Poles, it was if Robin Hood had been captured by the Sheriff of Nottingham: The best-known fugitive now faces sedition charges.

Also arrested were two of Mr. Bujak's closest aides, Konrad Bielinski and Eva Kulik, and Zbigniew Wroniak, a Foreign Ministry official

who was Mr. Bujak's landlord. The police were said to have found a computer with coded references that betrayed hitherto unknown activists.

Most of the best-known underground figures are in jail. They include Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and Bogdan Lis, who, like Mr. Bujak, commanded widespread respect; Adam Michnik, the essayist who linked workers and intellectuals, and Bogdan Boruszewski, Czeslaw Bielewski and Wladyslaw Jedynak, recently captured activists who are now awaiting trial.

Lech Walesa, although still free, has been forced into a circumscribed role. Closely watched by the police, Mr. Walesa, the Solidarity union founder and winner of the 1983 Nobel Peace Prize, has played an essentially symbolic role. Putting the best possible face on the situation, he praised Mr. Bujak after his arrest and pointed out the continuing failures of Government economic policies.

### Looking for Deals

The stream of arrests has hurt them, activists concede. "It is getting harder to fill Solidarity posts in the underground structures," one of them said. "When people are arrested, there are fewer who are willing and even fewer who are capable of taking their place." Perhaps even more demoralizing than the attacks from outside has been the accelerating fragmentation within. "It is very hard to talk about this," a Solidarity stalwart said, "but some people are ambitious,

some fear history is passing them by." He added that compromises are made by "people with elitist tendencies who seem to be looking for their own deals. At the same time, old differences are rising to the surface in the opposition movement — conservatives, Christian Democrats, nationalists, disciples of various pre-World War II political groupings."

### Blaming the Hierarchy

Some people close to the Solidarity leadership contend that General Jaruzelski's overall tactic has been to herd the opposition movement into the protection of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The churches have been providing sanctuary for dissidents of all political and religious persuasions. At the same time, some Solidarity supporters say, the Government entered into negotiations with the hierarchy on purely church concerns — how many churches will be constructed in the next five-year plan, the itinerary for a papal visit next summer, agreement on legal status of the church in Poland. As these discussions have proceeded, concern by hierarchy with political prisoners and other human rights issues has appeared to decline, the Solidarity people contend, although this has not been true of individual priests.

"We know the hierarchy is eager to have the Pope visit Gdansk when he comes here next summer," a former Solidarity leader said, "and that the Government wants him to go elsewhere. We are concerned that there are forces in the church who would pay any price for the papal visit."

On a recent visit to Paris, the Polish Primate, Cardinal Glemp, was quoted in French newspapers as saying that Solidarity had changed from a labor union to a political organization and that the church had no interest in politics. Spokesmen for the hierarchy concede privately that such comments may give the impression that the church is abandoning Solidarity. A spokesman added that church policies on secular questions have always "aged and ragged. Unlike the Government or Solidarity, he said, church policies and interests relate to concerns that are eternal."

Among the signs of fissure in the opposition is a new Polish-language magazine published in Vienna. The editor, Andrzej Micewski, is a close associate of Cardinal Glemp, and the magazine, Sign and Times, is widely regarded here as speaking for the Cardinal. From the first issue, it has appeared to challenge Kultura, the influential Paris-based Polish émigré publication that has frequently criticized the Primate. In a critical history in the Vienna magazine that has sown controversy in opposition circles, Ludwig Dorn, a former Solidarity supporter, describes a split among intellectuals and suggests that the movement has lost its ideological framework.

Other former Solidarity supporters are understood to be seeking Government authorization to publish a quarterly journal in Poland to be called Republic. Their former colleagues have attacked the project. "To publish with the consent of the authorities is collaboration," one said. "But worst of all, if they get their magazine, it will encourage others to cross over the line from resistance to toleration if not acceptance."

## The Achille Lauro Trial Opened Last Week



Ibrahim Fathy Abdelatif, accused of hijacking the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro, with paramilitary policemen in the defendants' cage in a Genoa courtroom last week.

## Italy Tries to Get Some Distance on the Mideast

By ROBERTO SURO

THE Italian Foreign Minister, Giulio Andreotti, recently delivered to Parliament an encyclopedic review of Italy's foreign policy, but there were three words he never uttered: Palestine Liberation Organization. The absence was notable. Just last February, Mr. Andreotti emphatically reminded Parliament of the Government's longstanding belief that the P.L.O. must play a role in any Mideast peace negotiations and that its chairman, Yasir

Arafat, was a key moderate in the region.

The change in emphasis if not in the substance of Mr. Andreotti's "Mediterranean policy" reflects personal dismay over the course of events in the Mideast as well as a recognition of a changed mood in Italy. In practical terms, the new rhetoric translates into fence-mending with Israel and a rediscovered desire to improve relations with the United States. Moreover, Italy is steadily finding new ways to express its displeasure with Mideast radicalism, a course reinforced last week as five defendants sat in black metal cages in a Genoa courtroom, charged with the hijacking of the Achille Lauro cruise ship and the

murder of an American tourist, Leon Klinghoffer. Ten others — including Mohammed Abbas, the alleged mastermind of the plot, who was aboard an airliner forced down by American planes in Sicily but later released — are being tried in absentia.

The trial's opening comes a week after Italy began implementing measures to reduce oil imports from Libya. Depending on the size of the cutback, the move could be merely symbolic or develop into the toughest economic sanction imposed on Libya by a European country.

Unhappy memories of Mussolini's adventurism have generally kept postwar Italy from undertaking foreign policy initiatives on its own. But not long after Prime Minister Bettino Craxi took office in 1983, Italy waded into the Middle East full of intentions that were perhaps too good, since it sought to encourage moderation among leaders like Mr. Arafat and Libya's Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi. Mr. Craxi was often less than moderate in pursuing these ends. He sharply criticized Israel, and during the Achille Lauro crisis last fall jeopardized both his coalition Government and his relations with the Reagan Administration because he was so thoroughly convinced of Mr. Arafat's sincerity.

But a sequence of events beginning with the terrorist attack on Rome airport Dec. 27 convinced some political leaders that an assertive Mideast policy cost a lot and accomplished little. Italy was among the most enthusiastic backers of the idea that Europe should foster efforts to produce a Jordanian-P.L.O. peace initiative, even to the extent of projecting a semblance of certainty over Mr. Arafat's frequent equivocation. Now, Mr. Andreotti privately expresses his disappointment over the collapse of the Amman negotiations in February and admits, "the moment certainly does not appear favorable to launching new initiatives."

The severest blow to Italy's Mediterranean policy was the Libyan missile attack on the island of Lampedusa hours after the American bombing raid April 15. Mr. Craxi promptly shifted from calls for United States restraint to nationalistic proclamations about the defense of Italian soil. Since then, Libya has been viewed not only as a likely supporter of terrorism but also as a potential security threat.

While distancing itself from Libya, Italy seems intent on bolstering some traditional relationships. Until the Achille Lauro crisis, Mr. Craxi was regarded as a thoroughly reliable American ally. Then, for a time, he became the most vocal European critic of the Reagan Administration's policy toward Libya and Arab-Israeli affairs. Now Mr. Craxi is restoring his position as an Atlanticist, and at the Italians' request a series of diplomatic consultations have begun, including a quick visit to Washington by Mr. Andreotti two weeks ago.

Mr. Andreotti also went to Israel just after the Tokyo summit to discuss cooperation against terrorism, among other issues. His distinctly friendly approach and his reserve on the P.L.O. were read by Israeli and American diplomats as an effort to bury past differences.

Foreign Ministry officials insist that both Mr. Craxi and Mr. Andreotti still adhere to the principle that Europe can encourage moderation in the Mideast. Widely regarded as both sly and philosophical, Mr. Andreotti built his Mediterranean policy around a view of Italy's geographic, historic and economic destiny. Mr. Craxi has elevated activism, especially politically successful Italian role in the Mideast is still there to play, but when the time is right.



## Orthodox Militants Raise Questions About National Identity

## Israel's Uneasy Mix Of Religion And State

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

**W**HEN Orthodox militants burned bus shelters displaying advertisements showing women in swimsuits and secular Jews countered by daubing swastikas on synagogues, many Israeli politicians called the vandalism the isolated acts of a few fanatics.

But some Israeli experts on religious affairs are beginning to believe that the violence may be the opening skirmish in a cultural war resulting from a breakdown in the national compact setting the boundaries between "Knesset and Beit Hakhnesset," or parliament and synagogue.

"The old status quo is not sufficient any more," said Aviezer Ravitzky, a professor of Jewish philosophy at the Hebrew University. "We have to redefine a new relationship — otherwise it will be done in the streets. The old deal was a political arrangement between religious and nonreligious parties. The new deal will have to be a social and cultural understanding."

Relations between Orthodox Israelis, about 15 percent of the population and the Knesset, and the nonreligious plurality have been governed by a loose understanding known as the Status Quo. The accord was never embodied in a formal document; it developed in a series of contacts between Israel's first Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, who rejected all forms of religious observance, and Orthodox leaders. Mr. Ben-Gurion's concern was to overcome the opposition of some Orthodox groups to the creation of a secular Jewish state. He gained the cooperation of all but a few extremists — who rejected the Zionist state — by making promises outlined in a 1947 letter.

It was agreed that Saturday would be considered the legal day of rest for Jews and their official institutions; the needs of religious people in matters of personal status, such as marriage and divorce, would be taken into consideration; an autonomous framework for religious education would be permitted; official institutions would serve kosher food.

Both parties were ready to compromise on this agreement, Professor Ravitzky said, "because each ultimately believed that the other would disappear." Mr. Ben-Gurion was sure the black-coated survivors of East European ghettos would be gone after a generation of Jewish nation-building. The Orthodox, for their part, were convinced that once Jews returned to live in the Holy Land and spoke only Hebrew, they would also return to religious observance. Today, 38 years later, it seems clear that the two sides will have to live together as they are — indefinitely.

But the old Status Quo arrangement no longer suffices because each side believes the balance of power has shifted dramatically in favor of the secularists. His point to the fact, he said, that the religious groups were not really involved in politics. They lived on the margins of society in their own neighborhoods, as though they were still in a non-Jewish environment.

However, with the victory of the right-wing Likud Party in 1977, Prime Minister Menachem Begin brought some of these Orthodox groups into the Cabinet to make a governing coalition. Once they came into the center of the political game, they began to feel more a part of the state and to make more claims on it.

They forced the national airline, El Al, to stop flying on Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath; introduced legislation banning the sale of pork, and succeeded in obtaining exemption from military service for a steadily increasing number of religious students.

The more fragmented the country's politics became, the more Likud and Labor, the two big parties, made offers to the religious factions to entice them into coalitions and the more the religious factions competed for religious voters by taking positions that struck secular Israelis as extreme.

Today, the religious parties have become so strong, say the secularists, that neither the Likud nor Labor is ready to order police crackdowns on hooliganism by their followers.

"The agnostic Israelis feel that they are under siege," said Shulamit Aloni, head of the secular Citizens



Militant Orthodox Jews reading indictments in Jerusalem court (above) after being charged in connection with fires set in bus shelters; a warning against religious coercion sprayed by vandals on the walls of a Tel Aviv rabbinical yeshiva; a swimsuit advertisement in a bus shelter in Tel Aviv.



Gamma-Liaison/Zoom 77 (2); Reuters (bus shelter)

Rights party. "There is a real anger out there. Peres is putting the coalition agreement above the rule of law," she said, referring to Prime Minister Shimon Peres. "To let people violate the law because they are religious is a real tragedy here. We are a divided society, and the only way to keep together is through the rule of law. Nothing can be above it."

Some Orthodox politicians, however, say they are the ones who are threatened — by secular encroachments. Argued Menachem Porush, a Knesset member of the Agudath Yisrael Party: "If cinemas are suddenly opened in Petach Tikvah on a Friday night, if shameful posters are put up on the streets where we and our children have to see them and if soccer is played on Saturday

in stadiums near religious neighborhoods, then all of that is a violation of the Status Quo. If they didn't violate it, we would be quiet. But you must remember that this country for us is not only a homeland, it is a holy land."

## Seeking a Solution

The only solution for this dilemma, say religion experts, is not another Status Quo slapped together by the politicians, but political education that takes account of the social and cultural values of both sides. Israel without the rule of law, these experts say, could end up in "Khomeini-ism," but Israel with only the rule of law would be a country without a soul.

The secularists have to be educated to the idea that

liberalism, meaning total separation of church and state and a public realm that is neutral, cannot work in a Jewish state, argues David Hartman, the Israeli philosopher and rabbi. "A rule of law that is indifferent to the ideological passions in a society will never be effective."

"But the religious have to understand," he added, "that there has been a revolution here and that there is no longer a consensus among the Jewish people about their identity. Are the religious ready to live in this country, accepting that there will be a permanent value disagreement with other Jews, or will they only live here on the assumption that they will eventually 'convert' the whole Jewish people? The answer to these questions will determine the future."

## This Week's Referendum Is a Gamble for FitzGerald

## Ireland Considers the Legalization and Politics of Divorce

By JOSEPH LELYVELD

**I**N a debate on the nettlesome issue of divorce in 1925, only three years after the Irish Republic came into existence, a non-Catholic Senator aroused Catholic resentment with a prophetic speech. "If you show that this country, southern Ireland, is going to be governed by Catholic ideas and Catholic ideas alone, you will never get the north," said Senator William Butler Yeats, who was better known for his poems. "You will create an impassable barrier between north and south."

On Thursday voters in the Republic — where about 96 percent of the population are baptized Roman Catholics, according to church statistics — will decide in a referendum whether to take down a bit of that barrier or to remain the last nation in Western Europe that maintains a total prohibition on divorce. Specifically, they will be deciding whether to amend a section of the 1937 Con-

stitution that declares: "No law shall be enacted providing for the grant of a dissolution of marriage."

Many of those who favor the change, including Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald, for whom the referendum represents a major political gamble, have long since accepted the essence of Yeats's argument. For them, the transformation of the Irish Republic into a secular, pluralistic society is an obvious and necessary condition for realizing the receding Republican dream of ending Ireland's partition into Catholic south and Protestant north. For some of them, indeed, the secular ideal is more an end than a means.

## Northern Obduracy

But, with the outcome of the referendum increasingly doubtful, the question of how relevant divorce in the south is to the north's seemingly permanent sectarian crisis has been soft-pedaled into oblivion.

Most proponents of the change find it politically inadvisable to press the idealistic argument that it might help

to heal the rift in Ireland. Their reasons are illuminating on several levels, foremost among them, the stubborn resistance of Protestants in Northern Ireland to any overture.

This resistance has been conspicuous enough. In the seven months since the British and Irish Governments agreed to give Dublin a formal consultative role in the north, to make talk about healing now sound other-worldly.

Ian Paisley, the flinty Presbyterian who has personified Protestant obduracy for nearly two decades, said recently that it would not matter to him if the Republic enacted the identical British statutes on divorce that obtain in the north. This being so, it is hard to show that ending divorce in the south could do anything for the nearly one-fifth of all Catholics in Ireland who live under British rule in the north. Whatever their deprivations as a result of partition, the legal right to divorce is obviously not one of them.

Finally, the association of the nationalist ideal with secularism and divorce is unlikely to be a vote-catcher in a country where 87 percent of those who identify themselves as Catholics — clearly a solid voting majority — still say in surveys that they go to mass at least once a week.

The case for revision is thus being made and debated on legal and humanitarian grounds, the argument being that marital breakdown is a fact for an estimated 70,000 of the 800,000 married couples in the Republic. It is a question of granting minority rights to this minority, trapped in failed marriages and prepared to contemplate divorce as a means of escape, while leaving the majority free to abide by their church's teachings on the indissolubility of Christian marriage.

The opponents of the change, including the bishops of



The New York Times/Larry C. Morris  
Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald

the 26 dioceses, argue that restrictive divorce for a minority will become a malignant growth in the society, making Ireland another California. Both sides are making catchwords of compassion and women's rights, leaving voters to decide whether divorce is a means of protecting battered and deserted wives or leaving them defenseless.

## Sin, Repression, Guilt

Themes of sin, repression and guilt creep into the debate. A woman in County Tipperary said on the state radio that, in her opinion, legalized divorce was tantamount to legalized prostitution. A woman member of the Parliament said second husbands are

notorious for sexual abuse of stepdaughters. A woman member on the opposite side spoke darkly of the scourge of incest in Irish families that divorce would help to remove.

But, in general, since no one is sure which way undecided voters are leaning, the church, politicians and single-issue groups on both sides have avoided name-calling and shrillness on an issue on which deep emotions about Ireland and the family are at play; the church has even conceded that it is possible for Catholics to decide to vote yes in good conscience.

If the amendment is accepted, Prime Minister FitzGerald's Fine Gael Party is likely to gain little. If it is decisively rejected, his minority coalition could be shaken. And, of course, Protestant leaders in the north would have an occasion to haul out old shibboleths equating Dublin rule with Rome rule.

The passage of the amendment, its supporters here concede, would make little or no difference in the north; only its defeat would register, they say despairingly, as a confirmation of ancient prejudices.

## There Are Exceptions to the Law, but Not Many

**T**HE only way to dissolve a marriage in the Irish Republic has been to seek an annulment from a church, a civil court or both. Church annulments, although more common, are still comparatively rare; barely 10 percent of the 650 or so applications the courts receive each year are granted. Of these, about 80 percent come with decrees against remarriage by one or both partners.

Civil annulments have usually been given only on grounds of impotence or lack of consent at the time of marriage.

Because civil decrees are harder to get, it hap-

pens that in a few cases — probably no more than a dozen a year — individuals who are allowed to remarry in the church are regarded as bigamists under civil law.

Occasionally, discarded spouses try to bring charges of bigamy, but the cases are never prosecuted.

More commonly, partners in a failed marriage simply cannot remarry. Some go abroad to divorce and remarry. In the event of a dispute over property, lawyers say, such unions seldom hold up to a legal challenge in Ireland.



# The Nation

## Sex Harrassment On the Job Is Ruled Illegal

Sexual harassment may be hard to prove in court, but the nation's highest tribunal held last week that Federal law entitles a woman to try.

In a case brought by a former employee of a Washington bank who said she had complied with her supervisor's sexual demands because she thought it was the price of her job, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that creating a "hostile or abusive work environment" constitutes sex discrimination under the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Thus, while the facts of the Washington case remain in dispute, the plaintiff's right to sue does not.

Employers did win on a few points. Justice William H. Rehnquist's opinion, taking a narrower view of the law than an appeals court had, said a company should not be automatically liable for a supervisor's offenses and may present in its own defense evidence of a plaintiff's "provocative" conduct. But the Court rejected the position of dissenting judges on that point, who protested that classifying sexual advances as "discrimination" was too "awkward" an interpretation of the 1964 law. Justice Rehnquist wrote: "When a supervisor sexually harasses a subordinate because of the subordinate's sex, that supervisor 'discriminates' on the basis of sex."

## Another Death Tied to Excedrin

Early this month, Sue Snow Wehling collapsed and died in Auburn, Wash., a suburb of Seattle. Last week, after laboratory analyses determined that she had died of acute cyanide poisoning, the poison was found in a bottle of Extra-Strength Excedrin capsules in her home. News accounts of the discovery prompted Stella Nickell, the widow of an Auburn man whose death June 5 had been attributed to natural causes, to take to a Food and Drug Administration laboratory a 40-capsule bottle of Excedrin; cyanide was found in it, too.

The Kings County medical examiner's office subsequently announced that Mr. Nickell had died of cyanide poisoning and that the deaths of six other people would be reinvestigated to see if there was any connection. The Federal drug agency soon issued a warning against the use of the medication, and Bristol-Myers Company, the manufacturer issued a nationwide recall of the capsules.

Federal officials said no evidence of tampering had been found at the North Carolina plant where the capsules were made. Like the rest of the drug industry, Bristol-Myers has attempted to make its over-the-counter products more resistant to tampering. Last week, it became the second major pharmaceutical company this year to halt production of nonprescription capsule drugs. Johnson & Johnson, the makers of Ty-

not, did so in February.

The deaths in Auburn were the 10th and 11th linked to drug tampering since 1982.

## Spy Saga Takes An Unusual Turn

Several Americans have recently stood accused of spying for the Soviet Union; last week, Government agents said they had, for a change, bagged a Russian.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation said Col. Vladimir N. Ismailov, the senior air attaché at the Soviet Embassy, was detained Thursday night at a "dead drop" in a Maryland suburb of Washington. According to the bureau, the colonel had been seeking classified details about, among other things, cruise missiles and Stealth bombers. He was said to have paid \$41,000 to a United States Air Force officer who had been working with the F.B.I.

Meanwhile, American intelligence officials said a senior Russian spy based in North Africa had defected and was in the United States, providing detailed information about Moscow's intelligence operations in the Middle East. The defector, identified as Oleg Agranovskiy, "basically walked into the U.S. Embassy in Tunis a month ago" and started talking, one official said.

And in Los Angeles, a Federal jury convicted a former F.B.I. agent, Richard W. Miller, of spying for the Soviet Union. Attorneys for Mr. Miller, who had been assigned to a bureau counterintelligence unit and was the first F.B.I. agent accused of espionage, said they would appeal.

## Another Fix On the G.N.P.

"This is one of those times," said Alan S. Blinder, an economist at Princeton University and at the Brookings Institution in Washington, "when the reading of the tea leaves and readings of the fundamentals are at odds."

Mr. Blinder was referring to the fact that yet another crucial economic report — of a 2.9 percent growth rate for the first three months of the year, down from the 3.7 percent rate announced a month ago — left unfulfilled the general expectation that the economy's sluggishness is coming to an end. Still, like most analysts, Mr. Blinder found reassurance in the tea leaves.

Indeed, despite the nation's huge trade deficit, which helped drag down the final figure for the first-quarter gross national product, touch in last week's report on the first-quarter gross national product assured that after four years the economy is continuing its longest expansion, with low inflation, since the 1960's. Even after a report later in the week that consumer prices rose two-tenths of 1 percent in May, after three months of decline, specialists were confident that the year's underlying inflation rate would range between 3 and 4 percent.

Michael Wright and Caroline Rand Herron

## In Brief

### Reagan's Polyps Termed Benign

In a brief statement, President Reagan's doctors said yesterday that the two small polyps removed from his colon Friday were benign. The polyps, like three removed in January, were found in the course of a routine examination to determine whether cancer of the intestine, for which the President underwent surgery July 13, had returned. Doctors had said the examination would in-

clude CAT scans, a colonoscopy and a dermatological examination of his nose, from which two small skin cancers have been removed in the last year. The physicians said nothing yesterday about the dermatological examination or the CAT scan, which provides detailed pictures of the brain, lungs, pancreas and other organs.

### Tentative Settlement in Phone Strike

Both sides saw last week's tentative settlement to the three-week old A.T. & T. strike as a victory, though the terms of the proposed contract are little different from those the union rejected before walking out June 1. The 155,000 members of the Communications Workers of America would receive wage and benefit increases of 10.2 percent over three years, and the company would stop subcontracting to other, often non-

union, concerns when layoffs are taking place. But the America Telephone and Telegraph Company, which had insisted on the need to reduce labor costs to compete in the post-regulation world, succeeded in eliminating cost-of-living increases and reclassifying some technical work into a lower-paying category. Strikers could return to work this weekend; the mail ratification vote will be counted July 28.

### 'Suspicious Death' for a Rising Star

Early last week, Len Bias, a 22-year-old All-America forward for the University of Maryland and the Atlantic Coast Conference's Player of the Year, was the Boston Celtics' No. 1 pick in the National Basketball Association draft. Mr. Bias, who said he had long dreamed of playing for the N.B.A. champions, was to have joined several members of the Massachusetts Congressional delegation for lunch at the White House this

week. But Thursday morning, Mr. Bias collapsed in his dormitory room in College Park, Md., and was pronounced dead at a nearby hospital. Doctors said the cause of death was cardio-respiratory arrest. Later reports said traces of cocaine had been found in his body. "The death of Len Bias is being treated as a suspicious death," a police spokesman said. "No further comments will be made until an autopsy report is complete."

## Gray's Performance May Help Rangel's Ambitions

# Blacks in Congress Are Branching Out

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS



The New York Times/John R. Lopez and Richard Sander  
From top: Representative William H. Gray 3d, the Rev. Floyd H. Flake, Assemblyman Alton R. Walden Jr., Representative Ronald V. Dellums.

THE special election held June 10 to fill the House seat of Joseph P. Addabbo, the Queens Democrat who died earlier this year, produced an exceptionally close race. Justice Burton S. Sherman of the State Supreme Court ruled last week that the contest could not be decided until he had heard arguments about disputed absentee ballots.

But the election was noteworthy for another reason. The two leading candidates, the Rev. Floyd H. Flake and Assemblyman Alton R. Walden Jr., are both black. And so, however the arguments are resolved, the district is certain to send a black to Congress for the first time.

The election is another step in the political evolution of black Congressmen, who have steadily expanded their ranks over the last generation and now hold 20 seats in the House, including one allocated to a nonvoting delegate from the District of Columbia. (The Senate, for now, is all white. Its last black member was Edward W. Brooke, a Massachusetts Republican, who served in the mid-1970's. No black candidate for the Senate is given a serious chance this year.)

Like the Queens post, an open House seat in Atlanta is certain to go to a black this year, and black contenders are thought to have reasonable chances in Mississippi and Louisiana districts. "Symbolically this is significant," said William H. Gray 3d, a black Representative from Philadelphia who is chairman of the Budget Committee. "The key will be whether they develop into effective legislators for their districts and the nation." Mr. Gray's comment points up the fact that many black members of the House have traditionally concerned themselves with domestic social policies. But now they are making their mark on a wider range of issues.

Last week, for instance, Mr. Gray led House negotiators in a series of tense but inconclusive bargaining sessions over next year's Federal budget. And an amendment by Ronald V. Dellums of California, imposing tough economic sanctions on South Africa, was approved by the House on a voice vote. "For blacks coming to Congress, civil rights issues are still very important," said Julian C. Dixon of California, who heads the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. "But we also want to pursue other activities, and we've done a good job of that."

The Queens district typifies a common political pattern. Even when a district acquires a black majority, either through population shifts or redistricting, an incumbent white has almost always been able to retain the seat. One example is

Peter W. Rodino Jr., the New Jersey Democrat whose Newark district is now heavily black but who has consistently defeated all black challengers. Mr. Rodino, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, did it again this spring in a primary election in which his black challenger made race very much an issue.

Mr. Dixon attributes this power of incumbency to the ability of lawmakers like Mr. Rodino to respond to the needs of their constituents. In fact, a number of black Representatives endorsed Mr. Rodino this year, even though the Rev. Jesse Jackson and some other black leaders campaigned heavily for his opponent. In Mr. Gray's view, the Newark contest was a positive sign for black politicians who want voters to ignore race and concentrate instead on merit. "The people of Newark said that they don't care about skin color; they care about character," said Mr. Gray.

Mr. Dixon argues that it is important to preserve the principle, laid down by the Federal courts, that district lines cannot be drawn in order to fragment the power of black voters. But that should not be confused, he added, with the idea that black candidates should automatically receive black votes.

## Looking Beyond Race

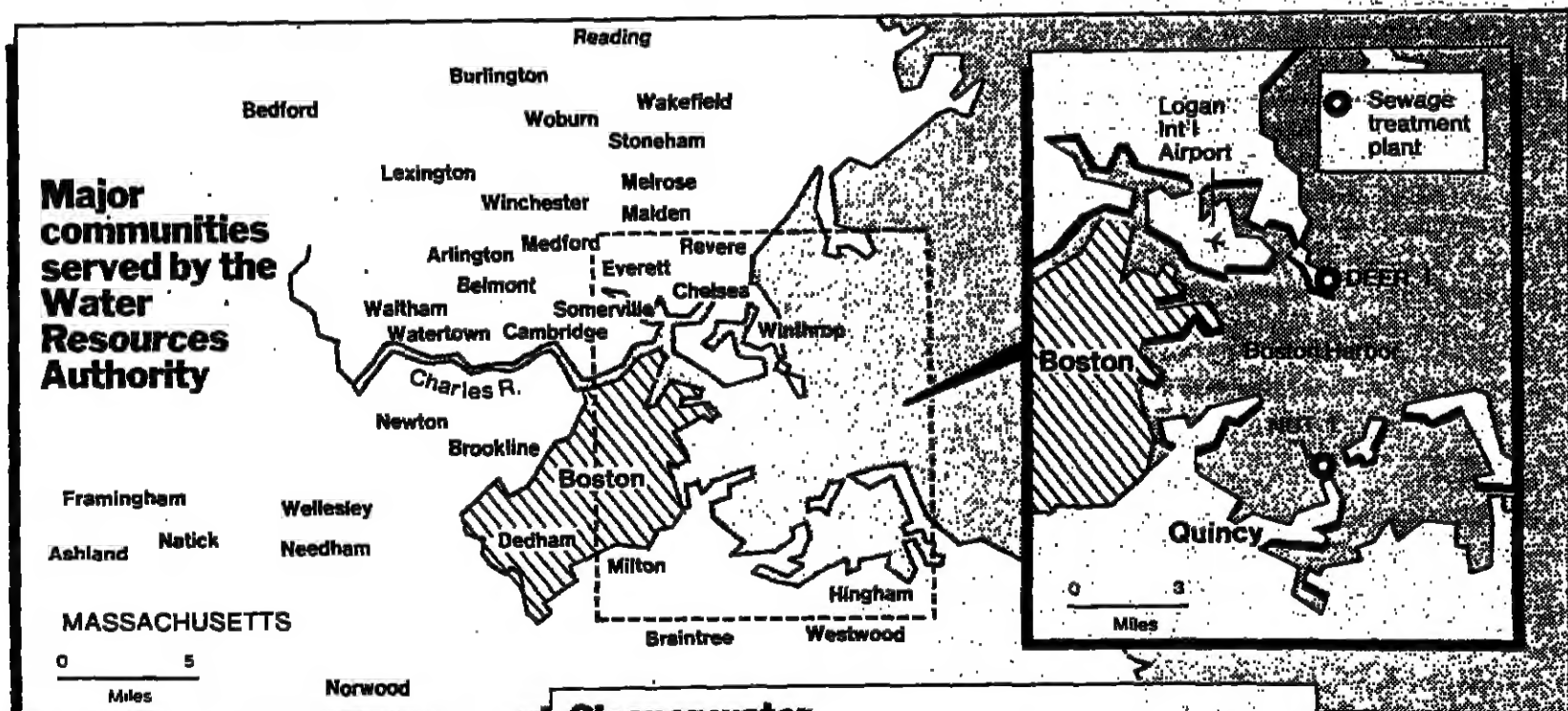
It is also true that when a white incumbent gives up a seat in a largely black district, his replacement is almost certain to be black. This is the case in Atlanta, where Representative Wyche Fowler Jr. is running for the Senate. All nine candidates to succeed him in both parties are black.

Once they get to Washington, blacks are also asking their colleagues to look beyond race, and the rise of Mr. Gray to the chairmanship of the Budget Committee has been widely viewed on Capitol Hill as something of a landmark event. Before his election, some Democrats voiced concern about the political wisdom of choosing a black to head the panel that has such authority over spending priorities; such a move, they said, might alarm white voters already worried about the Democrats' alleged proclivity for being overly generous with the taxpayers' dollars.

But Mr. Gray's performance appears to have doused most of those concerns, and Mr. Dixon maintains that the issue of the lawmaker's race "has gone away, as far as I can see." That remains to be seen, of course, and Mr. Gray himself warns that racial prejudice has not been extinguished. The next big test for a black lawmaker will come in the fall, when Representative Charles B. Rangel of Manhattan runs for the post of Democratic whip. Mr. Rangel is regarded as an underdog, but as Mr. Fowler put it, Mr. Gray's record "has made it a hell of a lot easier for Rangel" to appeal for support.

## The Residue of an Expensive Public Policy Mistake

# Attacking the Backup in Boston Harbor



## Cleaner water

Percent of selected cities' sewage flow meeting Federal standards established in Clean Water Act of 1977

	1976	1980		1976	1980
Boston	4%	2%	Minneapolis	3%	99%
Chicago	8	100	New York	7	84
Detroit	1	98	Newark	8	84
Jersey City	1	4	Pittsburgh	87	98
Los Angeles	12	15	Washington	26	100

Source: Water Pollution Control Federation

loaded the system, causing raw sewage to flow into the harbor from 108 overflow pipes, the two facilities remove a substantial portion of the solids from the 560 million gallons of sewage they process every day.

But even when the system is working properly, both the solids and the sewage are ultimately dumped into the shallow waters of the harbor, a practice that Judge Mazzone has described as "incomprehensible." Under the Judge's schedule, which mandates an end to sludge dumping by December 1991, the water authority has chosen Deer Island as the site for a new treatment plant that will replace both existing facilities.

## The Industrial Factor

Where the sludge will go remains to be decided. Land disposal is more difficult for Boston than for many other cities, according to Douglas I. Foy, executive director of the Conservation Law Foundation, because of toxic industrial discharges the state has done little to curb.

Among the disposal possibilities is dumping at sea, 106 miles off the New Jersey coast. That approach would require shipping the sludge 200 miles from Boston, and it is unpopular with New Jersey officials, including Representative James J. Howard, Democrat of Wall Township and the chairman of the Committee on Public Works and Transportation. Mr. Howard is the sponsor of a bill that would block dumping off New Jersey.

Boston's difficulties grow out of its decision to seek a waiver under the Federal Clean Water Act, which mandated that cities build sewage treatment plants by 1977. Though most cities took steps to comply with the law, Boston proposed instead that it construct a nine-mile pipe to carry sewage to sea.

Mr. Foy, whose conservation law group sued to force the Environmental Protection Agency to consider the pipe on its merits, argued that in cities like Los Angeles, a nine-mile pipeline would dump sewage in water hundreds of feet deep and "a current that will carry the stuff right to Japan." But the waters nine miles off Boston, Mr. Foy said, are only 118 feet deep and not far from the Stellwagen Bank, a feeding ground for whales.

Now the E.P.A. is suing, pressing the Water Resources Authority to start construction on new treatment plants. The authority has raised sewer rates 60 percent and will probably raise them again. But the portion of the total cost of treatment plants that Washington will contribute has been cut from 90 percent to 55 percent, and even 55 percent of the \$2 billion bill for the Boston plan would exceed the Federal allocation for all of Massachusetts.

Said Michael R. Deland, regional administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency: "Boston has made one of the most expensive public policy mistakes in the history of New England."



# Carl Icahn's Wild Ride at TWA

He says he may have blundered, but now he has a plan to fly back into the black.

By WINSTON WILLIAMS

CARL ICAHN is showing the mounting strain of keeping Trans World Airline in the air. His hair is graying fast; his look is haggard. Gazing vacantly from his 27th floor window toward Central Park, he repeated himself frequently during a recent interview.

It's clear that the raider-turned-executive has been straining to devise a battle plan to protect his \$350 million gamble on T.W.A. And now he has a plan, a risky one with outlines that are still emerging. Yet the plan — and Mr. Icahn's actions thus far as chairman of the troubled airline — reveal an executive every bit as daring and ruthless as the more familiar figure, Mr. Icahn the raider.

When he took over T.W.A. earlier this year, after a long and complex series of financial maneuvers, it was clear that the 50-year-old Mr. Icahn was in for trouble. The industry was suffering the sting of intense competition; the company's profits had slipped into the red and Mr. Icahn, the aggressive corporate raider who turned his Brooklyn street smarts into a lucrative takeover empire, had never run an airline — or much of anything else — before.

But now, five months into his experiment, T.W.A. is proving a more intractable problem than many — including the once-so-assured Mr. Icahn — had expected.

Traffic is down sharply, especially to the airline's once-lucrative European destinations, where T.W.A.'s red-striped planes and ticket counters have become powerful magnets for anti-American political violence. A nasty and protracted strike that appears to have cost 4,000 flight attendants their jobs also cut into traffic and profits at a time when the airline should have been in a seasonal recovery. And the fired flight attendants are predicting volubly that the airline's traffic will dry up as the public gradually realizes that the young replacements brought on to work the cabin cannot handle the job.

Making matters worse, T.W.A.'s balance sheet is as troubled as its labor relations. T.W.A. has borrowed heavily — at above-market, unsecured rates — to ward off competitors ready to pounce on the healthy routes of an ailing carrier. And losses for the second quarter will surely rival the first quarter's \$169 million. The company is starting at a loss for the year, which would be its third in four years.

"Looking back on it, it might not be worth it," the Brooklyn-born multimillionaire says measuredly, nervously tapping his desk with a huge bronze coin given to him by employees. He tried to explain his takeover of T.W.A. "I thought I could have made a deal with the flight attendants. And who could have predicted the terrorism? The strike has hurt. Terrorism has hurt."

Mr. Icahn may be hurting, but he's not yet down. Under the takeover agreements with some of the unions and the previous T.W.A. board, his funds appear locked into the company for at least another year and a half. So he is digging in to try to salvage his investment — and his ego — and to stay out of bankruptcy.

His plan, designed to stanch the short-term losses, eventually to merge T.W.A. with another carrier



## TWA

union concessions. A bold new advertising campaign is trying to lure reluctant travelers onto T.W.A. planes.

And to manage this host of changes, this month he installed as chief operating officer one of his own men, D. Joseph Corr, a tough boss with no airline experience, after dismissing the airline's popular president, Richard



D. Joseph Corr

Pearson. The move just seemed to highlight the seriousness of Mr. Icahn's problems.

"I don't envy his situation right now," says Irwin Jacobs of his fellow raider. "There are a lot of other things you could be doing out there." But, he adds, "Carl is a survivor. I think he'll prevail."

Analysts, too, have generally applauded Mr. Icahn's moves except for the dismissal of Mr. Pearson. "He was the glue that held the rank and file together," said Julius Maldutis, an airlines analyst for Solomon Brothers, of Mr. Pearson.

More resignations are expected at "605," as the company's Third Avenue headquarters in Manhattan is called throughout the airline's system. Insiders say T.W.A. resumes have been pouring into executive search firms recently. Calming nerves and easing the turbulent labor situation will be among Mr. Corr's first orders of business. He has his job cut out for him.

On the labor front, the most volatile situation is the battle with the International Federation of Flight Attendants, where Mr. Icahn hopes he has turned a bitter conflict into a \$100 million a year cost saving. An apparent victory over the flight attendants' union came last month as 2,000 members of the International Federation of Flight Attendants crossed their union's picket line. More than 4,000 other attendants stayed out and were replaced by 2,400 young, inexperienced and low-paid workers recruited and quickly trained to break the strike. Earlier — and less contentious — agreements signed with the machinists and pilots unions will result in additional savings estimated at \$75 million.

The labor savings are critical to the company. T.W.A. continues to sop up funds like a giant sponge. And analysts do not see much improvement in fares or traffic in the coming year, leading some gloomy employees to fear that Mr. Icahn could panic at any moment and start looking for loopholes in his restrictive takeover agreements with the unions as a prelude to busting up the carrier and selling its assets piecemeal.

For his part, Mr. Icahn makes no bones about his intentions. "We're either going to have to take somebody

else over or have a merger with someone else somewhere down the road," he says. Some, like Mr. Pearson, suggest that Mr. Icahn may be moving hastily. "A traditional airline man who has been through these ups and downs might be a little more patient and take these kinds of losses this year," said Mr. Pearson. "But I don't believe Carl is in this for the long term."

Mr. Icahn is clearly in the hot seat — an unusual position for a "greenmail" whose usual tactic is to buy enough stock of a company to frighten its executives into management's paying millions of dollars to buy back its stock at a profit and get rid of him. Now Mr. Icahn is learning first hand, about the pressures in the executive suite.

Despite the proliferation in the last few years of "greenmail," it has been unusual for a raider to actually take over a company. T.W.A. was Mr. Icahn's first sizable "victory" in the takeover game and given the problems at T.W.A., several people who know him say he should have stuck to "greenmail," the business he knows best.

Mr. Icahn says nothing could be farther from the truth. "It may sound corny but I felt I had an obligation to the union," he says, referring to the fact that he had been sought out by the pilots and machinists as a "white knight" against the T.W.A. takeover moves of Texas Air's Frank Lorenzo,



Richard Pearson

much disliked by labor for his union-busting tactics in the industry. "I could have gotten out. But I'm brought up in the Wall Street tradition. You make a deal and you stick with it."

Sticking with it, however, has proven increasingly difficult, as recent events suggest. Last week the Department of Transportation opened hearings on T.W.A.'s proposal to acquire Ozark. The Department of Justice expressed reservations about the combination, saying it will decrease competition out of St. Louis, where both carriers have major hubs. Hopes of a confirming vote from Ozark shareholders were put off two weeks ago when Ozark, postponed its June 13 annual meeting after complaints by the Securities and Exchange Commission about Ozark's proxy material.

On the labor front, the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants is still pressing its fight to have its members taken back.

It has also testified about and is bringing a lawsuit in opposition to the

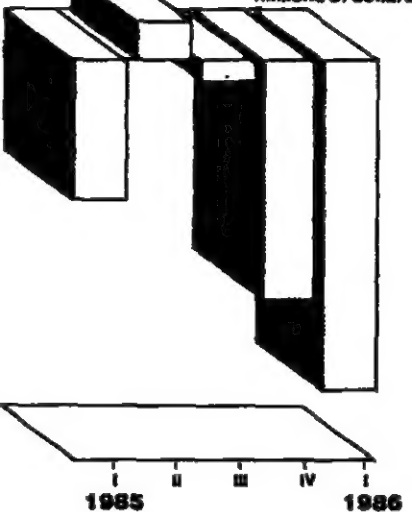
### TWA's Market Share Has Dropped ...

TWA's systemwide passenger traffic as a percentage of the total U.S. industry



### Driving the Carrier Deep Into the Red ...

TWA's net income quarterly net income or loss, millions of dollars



# The Economy

## WEEK IN BUSINESS

### Dart & Kraft Go Separate Ways

Dart & Kraft is undoing the merger that created it six years ago. The successful Kraft Foods and Duracell operations will form Kraft Inc.; the not-so-stellar Tupperware, West Bend, Hobart and Wilsonart units will form an as-yet-unnamed company. The move is viewed as a way to free the high-performers from any drag on earnings, while giving the less robust units a chance to prove their worth. Dart & Kraft's chairman, John M. Richman, will head the Kraft company; Warren L. Batts, the president, will be chairman of the other company.

Consumer prices rose two-tenths of 1 percent in May, mainly because gasoline became more expensive. The increase followed three months of declines in the C.P.I., but most analysts said it is not a cause for worry, yet. ... The economy grew at a disappointing 2.9 percent pace in the first quarter, far less than the 3.7 percent figure released a month ago. Economists blamed trade figures, which have stubbornly refused to reflect the stimulation that most have been expecting from the falling dollar. ... Personal income fell one-tenth of 1 percent in May, its first drop in a year and a startling development in light of a nine-tenths of 1 percent increase in consumer spending.

Housing starts fell 7.4 percent in May mainly because construction of big apartment houses fell sharply. Single-family homes were still robust. ... Industry operating capacity was at just 78.6 percent in May, down six-tenths of 1 percent and approaching recession levels.

Bonds weakened on rumors that the Fed was getting jittery about moving to cut the discount rate, although President Reagan would like to see an easier policy. A \$3.7 billion rise in M-1 did not help. Stocks had a lackluster week until the "triple witching hour" on Friday, when they jumped. The Dow Jones industrials ended the week at 1,879.54, up 5.35 points.

Mexico's Finance Minister was ousted, apparently the result of a continuing disagreement with President Miguel de la Madrid on how to deal with the debt crisis. Jesús Silva Herzog will be replaced by Gustavo Petricola, the head of the state development bank. Mr. Silva Herzog's departure is not expected to have a direct effect on Mexico's debt situation.

The tax bill picked up specialty amendments and lost some of its steam. Among the special provisions are one allowing taxpayers in states with little or no income tax to deduct some state and local sales tax, one allowing a small group of investors to retain millions in capital gains, and an exemption from excise taxes on funds that Phillips Petroleum withdraws from its company pension plan. The Senate is expected to approve the final bill this week.

The F.T.C. will seek to block PepsiCo's purchase of Seven-Up and Coca-Cola's purchase of Dr. Pepper, saying the deals would unfairly reduce



John M. Richman

competition in the United States. Royal Crown has already filed suit against the deals, which would give Coke 46 percent of the soft-drink market and Pepsi 35 percent.

Coca-Cola is buying Beatrice's Coke bottling operations for about \$1 billion, helping Coke consolidate its bottling operations for a future spin-off and helping Beatrice pay off the debt from its leveraged buyout.

The New York Times Company announced a plan under which the Sulzberger family would assure its control of the company. The plan calls for most of the family holdings to be converted from class B stock to class A, without diluting the level of control. The company also announced a 2-for-1 stock split and a dividend increase.

Time Inc. will buy back up to 16 percent of its shares, a move interpreted by most analysts as a defense against any possible takeover. Time, however, said it was merely trying to enhance shareholder value.

I.B.M. will cut jobs and costs because the sluggish economy is hurting its sales. The chairman, John F. Akers, said that, without an economic pickup, I.B.M. "will have difficulty showing earnings growth this year."

A Delaware law protects corporate directors from some liabilities if a company expressly states that it has limited its directors' liability. The law is intended to help companies find outside directors.

Export licenses will be easier to obtain under streamlined rules proposed by the Administration. The changes are intended to speed up deliveries and help companies increase their exports.

R.J. Reynolds Tobacco was accused of misrepresenting the health risks of smoking in a series of advertisements. The F.T.C. complaint was the first against cigarette ads in more than a decade. Reynolds said its ads were "fair and accurate."

Merrill Perlman

### AT A GLANCE

TWA			
All dollar amounts in thousands, except per share data			
Three months ended	1986	1985	
March 31			
Revenues	\$856,400	\$766,200	
Net income	(169,000)	(74,300)	
Earnings per share			
Year ended			
Dec. 31			
Revenues	\$3,725,418	\$3,525,070	
Net income	(193,002)	29,885	
Earnings per share		\$0.17	
Total assets, Dec. 31, 1985	\$2,768,800		
Current assets	724,896		
Current liabilities	914,419		
Long-term debt	1,260,613		
Book value per share, Dec. 31, 1985	\$13.22		
Stock price, June 19, 1986			
N.Y.S.E. consolidated close	14%		
Stock price, 52-week range	23-12%		
Employees, March 31, 1986	29,000		
Headquarters	New York		
* Includes obligations under capital leases (LOSS)			

and with luck, to make money on the deal, is probably the best that can be devised for such a precarious situation, analysts and competitors say. But he is still staring at the real possibility of losing face — and a lot of money.

The first piece of the plan is to take over Ozark Air. Lured by four dozen additional planes, which can be turned into cash or new routes, Mr. Icahn is willing to pay \$225 million for Ozark — a deal that could pave the way to the much-larger merger he envisions. At the same time, he is seeking a partner for T.W.A.'s brightest jewel, the Pars reservation system, which would inject new capital into the airline. In a memo sent to employees last week, he laid out a plan for more cost cutting and possibly more

### The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED JUNE 20, 1986				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
AT&T	8,083,900	25%	+	1/4
Cmwe	7,436,400	32%	+	1/4
Dart Kr	6,724,200	64%	+	6/8
IBM	6,373,000	147%	-	2 1/4
Cd Pac	5,567,200	12%	-	1/4
Navistar	5,138,700	8%	-	3/4
Safeway	5,057,000	48%	+	1/2
AMT	4,792,100	17%	+	1/4
Phil M	4,745,800	69%	+	1
Motors	4,549,900	40%	-	2
N.L. Ind	4,304,900	14%	+	1/4
Ahms	4,195,000	25%	+	2 1/4
RJR Nb	4,047,400	51%	+	1 1/4
Gen El	4,002,300	81	-	1/4
Digital	3,916,500	65%	-	1 1/4

Standard & Poor's				
400 Indust	276.7	271.3	276.7	+1.31
20 Transp	206.0	199.9	202.8	-1.69
40 Util	109.2	105.2	109.2	+3.94
40 Financial	29.0	28.4	28.9	-0.07
500 Stocks	247.5	242.5	247.5	+1.85

Dow Jones				
30 Indust	1980.8	1943.7	1879.5	+5.35
20 Transp	787.7	767.7	778.1	-6.37
15 Util	186.9	186.5	186.4	+2.80
65 Comb	723.6	708.1	717.6	+0.56

The American Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED JUNE 20, 1986				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
Wickes	3,584,800	5%	-	1/4
Horn Hard	3,406,400	12%	-	1/4
BAT Ind	2,410,100	6%	+	5/16
Deimed	2,162,000	1%	+	9/16
Wang B	2,117,600	16%	-	1/4
ConStor	2,104,800	22%	+	1 1/4
Scand	1,510,800	9%	+	1/4
Am Dahl	1,355,700	17%	-	1/4
Lorimar Tel	1,329,100	30%	+	1/4
FthiNG	1,028,000	5%	+	1/4

MARKET DIARY				
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
817	1,187	2,184	221	75
877	1,069	2,182	169	67

VOLUME				
4 P.M. New York Close	Last Week	Year To Date		
Total Sales	629,777,600	16,743,454,541		
Same Per. 1985	501,293,014	12,954,103,684		

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				
High	Low	Last Change		
104.0	161.4	164.0	+0.30	
121.5	118.8	119.9	-1.18	
71.7	70.0	71.7	+1.80	
151.3	150.0	151.3	-0.51	
141.6	139.4	141.6	+0.65	

New York Stock Exchange				
Indust	Last Week	Year To Date		
104.0	161.4	164.0	+0.30	
121.5	118.8	119.9	-1.18	
71.7	70.0	71.7	+1.80	
151.3	150.0	151.3	-0.51	
141.6	139.4	141.6	+0.65	

VOLUME				
4 P.M. New York Close	Last Week	Year To Date		
Total Sales	65,699,855	1,568,249,339		
Same Per. 1985	34,350,390	1,003,828,600		



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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## Walk, Do Not Run, Out of South Africa

President Reagan and Prime Minister Thatcher balk at stern sanctions against South Africa, where even possessing the wrong T-shirt is now a crime. But Westerners clamor to dissociate themselves from the Pretorian culture. The most eloquent argument for sanctions is the spectacle of President P. W. Botha fulminating about Communism to make apartheid seem an expression of Western values. To do nothing seems only to encourage his attempts to perpetuate a racist system by criminalizing its opponents.

That asks too much of Americans, whose anger boils up in the sizzling sanctions bill whooped through the House and now cooling in the Senate. The House would impose a total embargo, forcing 280 American firms to cease all operations in South Africa in six months. The revulsion over Pretoria's martial cruelties — and President Reagan's flabby response — is so complete that opponents of the measure ducked a roll call.

But would a rush to the exit do more than stroke the American psyche? Surely, slow and damaging turns of the screw are more likely to achieve America's soundest purpose: to assist the courageous blacks still committed to nonviolence, to help them gain a voice in government and to forge a partnership with white business interests.

Given that goal, why not some sanctions? Mrs. Thatcher objects that sanctions won't work. That all depends. Not even a total embargo could topple the regime of an industrialized state that has made itself sanction-proof in energy and relies for hard currency on easily sold gold, diamonds and platinum.

But South Africa is highly vulnerable to other economic pressures, notably from lenders. Its currency plummeted last summer when, alarmed by racial turmoil, foreign banks balked at refinancing short-term debts. That pressure was eased when Mr. Botha lifted emergency decrees in January and seemed to promise reforms. Now the lenders in New York, London and Zurich have even greater cause

for alarm. Mr. Botha's white constituency does not yet seem to grasp the danger of the bankers' sustained skepticism.

President Reagan objects that harsher sanctions would hurt the very people they are supposed to help. No such concern dissuaded him from an embargo against Marxist Nicaragua, chiefly hurting its private-sector opponents. More compelling still, moderate black leaders favor sanctions; if sanctions are counterproductive, why does the Botha regime threaten their advocates with jail?

It knows better. The threat of declining business activity and living standards can have the political effect of emboldening South Africa's blacks and dividing whites by driving major business interests to support power sharing. The hardly-radical Commonwealth mediation team that has just failed to arrange for such power sharing unanimously reached that conclusion.

The Commonwealth group urges canceling air service to and from South Africa; discouraging tourism; halting new investment; ending government-to-government sales and boycotting South African farm exports. It understands that blacks might suffer disproportionately from any economic decline, but counts on enough white victims to alter the politics in Pretoria.

If imposed by the United States, the Commonwealth and the Common Market, such measures would send an unmistakable message. They would keep faith with those who struggle against apartheid but also keep open the question of harsher sanctions — or quick relief in return for reforms.

Exhausting the Western arsenal with one massive boycott would defeat the main objective — buying time for blacks and whites to find an honorable exit from a dangerous impasse. By moderating the House bill and modulating sanctions, the Senate could enhance their value and perhaps induce the President to catch up with the American consensus.

## Ford's Promising Offer on Airbags

It's the law: By 1990 all new cars must come equipped with automatic safety restraints. Automakers must still decide, however, whether they will comply by providing "passive" belts or inflatable airbags, which are more effective and more expensive. Ford now says it would choose airbags for drivers if Washington relaxes the safety-restraint rule for passengers. The Feds ought to meet Ford at least part way.

Airbags are proven lifesavers. Now available on Mercedes-Benzes and BMWs, they have deployed successfully in hundreds of real-world accidents, saving dozens of lives without themselves causing injury. The potential savings from airbags in insurance premiums alone far outweigh their higher cost. But after an initial burst of enthusiasm more than a decade ago, Detroit turned against them and persuaded Federal regulators not to require their use.

But the law, as read by the courts, forced the Reagan Administration to require some kind of greater protection, and it finally adopted a "passive restraint" rule that can be satisfied by either airbags or shoulder belts that fasten automatically. It was assumed that Detroit would choose belts, but the German automakers' decision to avoid the minor discomfort and cluttered look of automatic belts led Ford to reconsider. These days, American automakers know they ignore such foreign marketing judgments at their peril.

Ford already offers driver-side airbags as an option on its Tempo/Topaz line of compacts. But it has not yet perfected the passenger-side airbag, which presents more difficult engineering problems. It cannot therefore plan on reliable airbags

for both front seats in 1989 models, which come off the drawing boards at the end of this year. And it considers a hybrid design, combining a driver-side airbag and an automatic belt for the passenger, unattractive and impractical.

So under current regulations, Ford says it would be forced to use automatic belts on new models. But if the regulations were relaxed to permit an airbag for the driver and an ordinary, snap-on belt for the passenger, Ford would commit now to driver-airbags for most models.

Airbags are so much more effective than automatic belts, Ford argues, that the gain in safety for drivers would more than make up for the passenger's having to continue to buckle up manually. And the company promises to add passenger-side airbags as soon as its engineers approve a satisfactory model.

Some analysts suspect a bluff and oppose relaxation; they think American automakers would take a chance on airbags anyway to meet the European and Japanese competition. But if Ford's technical arguments make sense, the prudent Government response would be to offer a compromise:

Give Ford, or any other car maker that installs driver-side airbags in all cars by 1990, a two-year delay in the obligation to install passive restraints on the passenger side. That would stimulate the engineers and still leave time for further relaxations if needed.

The welcome news is that airbags are coming. How best to phase them in should not be an overwhelming obstacle to good-faith negotiations for the Government and the automakers.

## Topics

### Star Chamber

New Jersey's Constitution gives the state Senate the right to approve the Governor's appointments. By dubious tradition, the Senate's right is subject to a senator's right. "Senatorial courtesy" allows the member from an appointee's home county to block consideration and, in effect, exercise a veto.

Senator Peter Garibaldi, a Republican, has been threatening to do just that to Governor Kean's nomination of Chief Justice Robert Wilentz for a permanent seat on the New Jersey Supreme Court. He dislikes several of Justice Wilentz's decisions during his initial, seven-year term, especially the Mount Laurel ruling against exclusionary zoning. Governor Kean, also a Republican, shares some of those sentiments but rightly believes that judges shouldn't have to fear for their jobs in deciding tough cases.

Mr. Garibaldi now says he'll let the nomination proceed on one condition: if Justice Wilentz appears with him in public to answer his questions. In effect, he wants a chance for stardom by keelhauling Justice Wilentz all by himself.

That condition insults Justice Wilentz and also Mr. Garibaldi's fellow senators. The Senate Judiciary Com-

## Cold Comfort

mittee routinely holds hearings on appointments and allows all senators to participate. Mr. Garibaldi says that's not good enough because he would have no special leverage.

On his total record, our view is that Justice Wilentz deserves to be confirmed. More fundamental, he deserves to be considered by the body empowered to do so by the state Constitution.

### Pentagon Economy

The Pentagon usually digs in firmly against budget assaults, battling fiercely for every program, no matter how costly. But do not conclude that it is profligate.

A communication passed to us by a veteran seeking to document his military service offers reassurance that the Department of Defense does indeed know how to cut back. The letter, sent him by the Department of the Navy's Naval Military Personnel Command, is self-explanatory:

"Per your letter of 18 April 1986, our records show that you are entitled to a Certificate of Satisfactory Service for your period of naval service. However, the supply of this document has been exhausted and due to bud-

etary cutbacks will not be replenished. Sincerely."

### Summer Homeless

Summer brings relief to New York agencies that care for the homeless. But the Partnership for the Homeless, which coordinates small neighborhood shelters in church basements and storefronts, finds summer as frustrating as winter.

The reason is that the Partnership depends entirely on volunteers. Reduced demand permits reducing the number of shelters from a hundred-plus to 41, but it becomes much harder to find people to staff even these centers. The group needs at least 300 more volunteers, the minimum necessary to take in about 600 people each night.

In the last four years, more than 30,000 New Yorkers have donated a night a month. The time is spent checking in visitors, serving meals and keeping watch through the night.

"The shelter is a quiet place," observes a former volunteer. "The maximum capacity is about 15, and the patrons tend to appreciate the service. Giving time is more rewarding than giving money."

## Letters

### Why Colleges Need to Give Merit Scholarships

To the Editor:

Philip G. Benoit's attack on merit scholarship programs shows a fundamental misunderstanding of the reality faced by most private colleges and universities ("In Colleges: High Tone, Low Practice," Op-Ed, June 10). They do not sponsor merit scholarships — institutional grants — to compete with one another or to make advertising claims to attract the next group of freshmen. Rather, these programs are offered to maintain some sort of parity with low-cost, tax-supported public institutions.

Rather than attack private colleges for offering scholarships based on ability, Mr. Benoit should aim his guns at the dearth of financial aid for students from low- and middle-income families. They should be allowed to choose their colleges on some other basis than price alone.

Merit scholarships, I have found in 15 years of involvement with college marketing programs, rarely are persuasive when students are choosing among independent colleges. Yet, to some degree, they attract students who would otherwise be forced to go to large, low-tuition public institutions. Until Federal and state governments grow more sensitive to the critical bind most middle-income families are in, merit scholarships should continue.

WILLIAM A. SPIEGLER  
New York, June 11, 1986

To the Editor:

Although Philip G. Benoit of Dickinson College presents himself as part of the higher-education community, he appears unfamiliar with what goes on in a classroom. Intelligent and intellectually curious students raise the level of class discussion, bring out interesting issues that might otherwise be passed over and stimulate everyone in the room, from their less gifted colleagues to the teacher, to better efforts.

Good students contribute more to the general educational level of a college than higher faculty salaries, enhancement of academic programs or purchase of equipment.

Mr. Benoit most clearly betrays his distressing obliviousness to intellectual values by his statement that athletes make a contribution to collegiate life while scholars do not. His

argument that good students are merely supplying "an endorsement of the product that will be used to attract other good students" rests on the assumption that nothing develops in their own minds or in the minds of other students during four years of college. Like other members of the higher-education community, I hope and believe that this assumption is not true.

KATHARINE M. ROGERS  
New York, June 10, 1986  
The writer is a professor of English at Brooklyn College and the City University Graduate Center.

To the Editor:

Contrary to Mr. Benoit's assertion, high academic achievement among incoming students can be one useful indicator of the academic quality of an institution. The best and the brightest will not be fooled for very long, and their decisions about college choice will say a good deal about the institutions they attend. These students should be recruited by the best colleges because both they and their colleges are likely to benefit from their attendance.

The problem is not in the goal, but the means. Offering financial rewards for previous achievement (Scholastic Aptitude Test scores or high school grades) encourages a consumer ap-



proach to education and sets the stage for an unhealthy and counterproductive emphasis on grades and scores in college. This is why the use of merit

scholarships as enrollment incentives should be discouraged.

An academically motivated student will benefit most from (and give the most to) the institution that provides the richest palette of ideas and resources in the learning environment that he or she finds compatible. Our recruitment activities should speak only to these issues. Bidding wars are misleading for academically talented students and are liable to contribute to educationally unsound decisions.

RICHARD A. FASS  
Vice President, Dean of Students  
Claremont, Calif., June 12, 1986

To the Editor:

Philip G. Benoit's sanctimonious castigations of academic marketing practices seems to me a bit disingenuous and a gross oversimplification of a life-threatening problem for a growing number of American colleges and universities. That is, how to fill dormitory beds and classrooms with well-qualified students in the face of a severe contraction in the college-age population that will last at least into the mid-1990's.

I assume from Mr. Benoit's tone that Dickinson College is one of "a handful of selective institutions" that is not "involved in buying the services of outstanding high school students," mainly because it doesn't need to. In a long-term seller's market for good students, the institutions that already have will inevitably get more at the expense of their less fortunate neighbors, especially if those neighbors allow themselves to be bullied and browbeaten by the cartel into playing by Ivy League rules of admission.

While competitive enterprise may not seem particularly high tone by the standards of academe, colleges and universities struggling for their very existence ought to have the right, in a supposedly free market, of self-determination in allocating their resources. The real issue does not involve pious evocation of ethical conduct, but requires rational debate as to whether or not the public will ultimately benefit or lose from deregulation of admissions and financial-aid systems.

E. WILLIAM SMITHURST JR.  
New York, June 10, 1986

## TV Shouldn't Allow Issue Commercials

To the Editor:

In "Networks vs. Free Speech" (Op-Ed, June 12), J. Peter Grace and Joseph A. Califano Jr. say they have been denied their right of free speech and open debate by the three major commercial television networks, which have refused to run an advertisement depicting the Grace-Califano viewpoint on the Federal deficit.

In this case, I believe the networks are 100 percent correct. Free speech and open debate should not be predicated on ability to afford network air time. It can hardly be considered an open or free debate when the ante is tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars to get an idea on the air.

As for the argument that the print media allow this practice, one has only to compare the basic difference between television and the printed word. In the case of television, the powerful images and sounds composed by an expert are all too effective at evoking the desired emotion in the viewer. In serious political debate, emotion is always present, but it should not be the basis for argument. Rational thought processes should be brought to bear on the pros and cons of an argument. This is the sphere of newspapers and magazines; one has to think to comprehend what one has read.

I agree that a television forum is desirable for discussion of public issues as long as it is open to all, regardless of financial status or political connections. PAUL F. KELLEY  
Westfield, Mass., June 13, 1986

## The Bloody Lesson East Timor Teaches

To the Editor:

P. E. Strei ("Anti-Communism Makes Indonesia What It Is," letter, May 22) misses the real point of the reasons behind Indonesia's seizure of East Timor. The Suharto regime's paranoia about Communism was a thin cover for an act of naked aggression and exploitation by Indonesia's generals and intelligence officials largely for the sake of diplomats from countries like the United States and Australia.

As one of the few outsiders who was in Timor at that time, let me at the outset assure you that his description of the Timorese independence movement — "Che Guevara clones brandishing AK-47 rifles" is quite untrue. The troops of the independence movement, Fretilin, were armed exclusively with North Atlantic Treaty Organization-style weapons of European manufacture, which they had obtained from the Portuguese; the only AK rifles in evidence were a few captured from the invading Indonesian forces, who had acquired them from Communist sources years earlier.

But the more important point is that Fretilin was neither Communist nor Marxist. It was a populist Roman Catholic nationalist movement, whose leaders had at first focused their appeals for support not on Communist bloc states, but on countries like Australia and on the United Nations — in the event, to no avail.

Nor was the civil war, which Indonesia used as an immediate pretext for military intervention, a result of Communist subversion: It was

largely the outcome of a destabilizing subversive operation, inspired by Benny Moerdani and mounted by Bakin, Indonesia's intelligence agency. It ended quickly, and the victorious Fretilin leaders immediately sought to negotiate with Indonesia, assuring Jakarta that any independent Timor would be a friendly neighbor. This move was cynically ignored, and the Portuguese colony was invaded, precipitating a long and bitter struggle, which cost the lives of more than one-fifth of the population.

Indonesia's fear of externally inspired subversion needs to be understood, but the resort to armed aggression based on it should never have been tolerated by the Suharto regime's influential Western friends, who were virtually in a position to change the course of history. The massacre of thousands of Timorese, the denial of the right to self-determination, the gross violations of human rights and, finally, the imposition of what is merely another form of colonialism are the disturbing consequences of an immoral and ill-considered accommodation, which in the end is more likely to promote a festering source of unrest than to foster stability.

The rape of East Timor offers a grim lesson, especially to the United States, of the humanitarian costs of its indulgence in the devious scheming of generals in a right-wing dictatorship.

JAMES DUNN  
President  
Human Rights Council of Australia  
Canberra, Australia, June 5, 1986

## Senate Plan Hurts I.R.A. as an Investment

To the Editor:

In "Don't Weep for I.R.A. Deductions" (editorial, June 10), you point out that the proposal by the Senate to change eligibility requirements does not impact on the tax-deferral of income earned on individual retirement account investments. That "advantage" becomes questionable under the proposed legislation.

The proposal stipulates that interest paid on loans used for investment is deductible only up to income or dividends received. Thus any individual whose interest expense for investment is greater than his investment income is better off having investments outside an I.R.A. Tax-free income is always better than tax-deferred income.

Under the tax proposal, investors must be wary about investing in tax-deferred vehicles if they are not able to deduct all their interest expenses.

The optimum strategy would be to invest as much as possible outside an I.R.A. until interest expense and interest-dividend income are equal. Only then would an I.R.A. be worthwhile for an investor whose only benefit is tax-deferral on interest-dividend income.

ELLIOT RAPHAELSON  
Englishtown, N.J., June 10, 1986

To the Editor:

While I agree with your editorial position that the uproar over the

preservation of individual retirement accounts is misguided, there is reason to believe that the Senate Finance Committee version of tax reform remains inequitable.

The tax advantages vary significantly for people who have an individual retirement account, a pension, a 401(k) plan, a tax-sheltered annuity, a Keogh plan (or a combination of these). The disparities should be eliminated and the playing field leveled.

Our legislators should be reminded that individual retirement accounts and 401(k) plans were established to encourage capital accumulation for the future, primarily to provide alternatives to the Social Security system. The proposed legislation jeopardizes not only I.R.A.'s but also the future of the highly popular 401(k) plans by imposing restrictive discrimination tests and tax penalties. Consistency and fairness would be welcome reform.

DIANE M. GANNON  
Dir. of Benefits, Insurance Company  
Supported Organizations  
New York, June 10, 1986

## Political Boosters

To the Editor:

One question on the Challenger tragedy has not been properly addressed: Why are there solid-rocket boosters on the space shuttle?

In the early 1970's the National Aeronautics and Space Administration proposed to build a space station in low Earth orbit and a reusable vehicle to shuttle back and forth to it. Neither the Nixon White House nor the Democratic-controlled Senate would fund such a program. NASA then proposed to build the shuttle first. That plan was approved, but not funded adequately.

Faced with budget limitations, NASA could not develop a totally reusable shuttle; a vehicle that could take off like an airplane and land under power. Instead, a hybrid vehicle was designed, which takes off like a rocket and lands like a glider.

In a tragically real sense, the solid-rocket boosters on Challenger were put there by politicians, not engineers.

BEN BOWA  
President, National Space Society  
West Hartford, Conn., June 11, 1986



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WASHINGTON  
James Reston

## The Mexican Time Bomb

Every once in a while the Reagan Administration thinks seriously about Mexico — for example, when it's not thinking about Nicaragua.

It pays attention if there's an earthquake in Mexico or a drug crisis or a financial crisis that might hurt U.S. bankers, but most of the time it prefers to dream of faraway places, including outer space.

However, Secretary of the Treasury James Baker has been concentrating recently on Mexico because President Miguel de la Madrid has threatened to default on his \$100 billion debt. And this is a direct challenge to the so-called Baker Plan of settling international economic policy on debt, exchange rates and trade by negotiation rather than confrontation.

The chances are that the International Monetary Fund will come through with a \$1.5 billion loan that will make possible another \$6 billion in credit. That will deal with the immediate crisis, but as usual it will be a short-range response to the much deeper and enduring long-range economic and social problems of that nation.

What Mexico needs is not merely another loan but a continuing partnership with the United States to help the growth of its potentially rich economy. This would require a wholly new bipartisan approach in Washington to what is called the Mexican time bomb.

For only by a dramatic expansion of its economy can Mexico deal with the menace of unemployment and underemployment, now running at over 50 percent, and with the flight of its people and capital into the United States. Even the alarming drug traffic across the Rio Grande is at least partly the result of Mexico's desperate poverty.

This has been recognized in Washington ever since the last world war. Franklin Roosevelt had his Good

## The answer is not another loan, but a partnership with the U.S.

Neighbor Policy and Kennedy his Alliance for Progress. President Johnson even talked about a North American Common Market, and President Reagan flirted momentarily with that idea when he came into the White House, but increasingly the problem has outrun the slogans and the short-term policies.

In the past, the United States has dealt mainly with the effects and not with the causes of the Mexican chaos, and admittedly there are some causes it cannot control. It cannot dictate the price of oil, which accounts for three-fifths of Mexico's foreign exchange. It cannot control the alarming human fertility of Mexico, whose population was around 20 million at the end of the last world war and is expected to be over 125 million by the end of the century.

It cannot even control the irresponsibility of Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, who, like the ghouls of the Middle Ages who stripped the wounded on the battlefield, called a meeting the other day in the middle of the present crisis to announce that the Mexican election of 1982 had been a fraud and to suggest that maybe President de la Madrid should be impeached.

Fortunately, Senator Helms's bad-neighbor policy has few supporters in Washington. There are some here who would rather concentrate on the political corruption and one-party government in Mexico than remember that alone in Latin America, Mexico's one-party Government has at least kept the peace and avoided a military dictatorship for over half a century.

The United States and the international monetary organizations are justified in calling for economic reforms in Mexico before shoveling more and more billions into the mess, but there's a limit to the sacrifices the Mexicans can make under present circumstances without inviting violence in the streets and provoking the ancient Mexican hostility against the gringos and bankers to the North. Washington thinks of these deeper economic and philosophic questions only fitfully. They have not been given the priority they deserve. President Reagan, for example, started his stewardship with a visit to Mexico, but he has talked more about the menace of Nicaragua in the last month than he has talked about the fire in the Mexican ashes in the last five years.

"If the United States has one truly special relationship with another country, that country is Mexico," William D. Rogers, former Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, wrote the other day in *The Washington Post*.

"A nation can choose its friends, but not its neighbors. We and Mexico are fated to live together. . . . We had best learn to exist side by side, with civility and understanding. What injures Mexico does damage to our own national interests as well."

By Benno C. Schmidt Jr.

NEW HAVEN President Reagan's long-expected chance to reshape the United States Supreme Court has presented itself at last, and the President has seized it in a way that signals a watershed in the history of the Court.

With Chief Justice Warren E. Burger's announcement that he will step down at the end of the Court's current term, the President's nominations of Associate Justice William H. Rehnquist to become Chief Justice of the United States and of Judge Antonin Scalia to become an Associate Justice are plainly designed to produce seismic change in the content of our constitutional law and in the role of the Supreme Court in our political system. Despite the prospects for radical change, one assumes that because of the exceptional ability and unquestioned integrity of the two men, Senate confirmation will be quick and easy.

The naming of a new Chief Justice tends to produce a special sense of impending change in the Court. Partly, this is symbolic. Ever since our fourth Chief Justice, the incomparable John Marshall, put his national stamp on the Court in his seminal 34-year tenure from 1801 to 1835, periods in the Court's history have tended to be identified by the tenures of Chief Justices. The Court is the symbol of continuity in our nation's Government, the institutional embodiment of our Constitution, which is, as Marshall once said, "intended to endure for all ages to come." It is insulated from electoral rhythms, outlasting administrations and large enough in its membership of nine so as almost never to be recast in a stroke. The Chief Justice is the personal embodiment of this sense of continuity.

It signifies in our history that alongside our 40 Presidents we have had only 15 Chief Justices and that several in addition to Marshall have served across entire eras in our nation's development. Chief Justice Burger, after all, served alongside four Presidents during 17 years of extraordinary political volatility.

Beyond longevity and symbolism, a number of Chief Justices have by intellect, personal force or ability to capture the nation's constitutional ideals or anxieties dominated the work of the Court as a whole during their tenures. One thinks of the impact of Chief Justices Marshall and Roger Brooke Taney in the long sweep of their successive tenures from 1801 to 1863, of William Howard Taft in the 1920's, of Charles Evans Hughes in the 1930's and, of course, of Earl Warren in the 1950's and 1960's.

A Chief Justice is only one voice and vote among nine, to be sure. But the power to preside over the conferences that set the Court's docket and canvass the merits of cases for decision, to assign majority opinions or dissents and to speak out on basic questions of Federal law and jurisdiction can be profoundly influential tools in the hands of a Chief Justice who will use them.

It is hard, even when looking back, to take the measure of a period in the Court's history. When one remembers that great nation-building jurisprudence of the Marshall Court ended in an era of growing state challenges to national authority; that the Taney Court wound up with a fatal embrace of the specter of slavery; and that the demise of the main constitutional achievements of the Warren Court was confidently predicted when Chief Justice Burger and three other "strict constructionists" — Harry A. Blackmun, Lewis F. Powell and Mr. Rehnquist — were appointed to the Court by President Richard M. Nixon within a space of three years, one sees the difficulty of appraising the historical significance of an era of the Supreme Court, even at its close.

Will William Rehnquist come to be associated with the great Chief Jus-

Benno C. Schmidt Jr., president-designate of Yale University, was dean of the Columbia University Law School from 1984 to 1986.

ties? Will he lead the Court to a vision of constitutional law structure that grips the nation, to decisions that summon up in an enduring way our deep constitutional idealism?

Justice Rehnquist is a person of extraordinary intellectual power and utter confidence in his own constitutional convictions. Like the man he once served as law clerk, Justice Robert H. Jackson, Justice Rehnquist is a masterly writer with a sharp and sarcastic pen. He is a warm and engaging person, without pretense. Despite his rigid and systematic constitutional ideology, he has an open and playful manner in discussions. He is a shrewd tactician in the arts of persuasion. He has the qualities of intellect, strength of conviction and personality to be an influential Chief Justice.

The question is whether his reactionary constitutional vision is so out of touch with that of his colleagues and the temper of the times that all his powers of intellect and personality cannot overcome the essential isolation that has been the overriding characteristic of his service on the Court to date. Partly, of course, this question turns on who his colleagues are and will be.

Judge Scalia seems likely to be strong ally of Justice Rehnquist on most constitutional issues, in harmony on general questions of constitutional structure and philosophy. Judge Scalia is himself a powerful intellect with a biting and effective pen. He has scholarly skills in massing data and argument that probably exceed those of anyone now on the Court. He has a gregarious, winning personality. He seems virtually certain to bring tremendous strengths to Justice Rehnquist's reactionary program. With Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, they will make a formidable trio. If President Reagan makes one or two more appointments, Justice Rehnquist may well preside over a Court with a like-minded majority.

The consequences would be striking to contemplate and would distance the Rehnquist Court from the Burger Court almost as much as from the Warren Court. It must be remembered that the Burger Court has reaffirmed the most significant constitutional work of the Warren Court in race relations and reapportionment, has upheld and even extended the essential protections of freedom of the press created by the Warren Court and has left largely intact several major elements of the Warren Court's work in criminal procedure.

Moreover, by most measures of judicial activism and doctrinal innovation, the Burger Court exceeded in its abortion decisions anything done by the Warren Court. And historians will doubtless see the Burger Court's decision to expedite the Watergate tapes case, and to rush the matter to judgment before the House of Representatives could conclude its impeachment proceedings against President Nixon, as one of the prime crisis-resolving initiatives in the Court's entire history. In short, for all its many important differences with the Warren Court, the Burger Court

left most of the Warren Court's constitutional legacy intact, and embarked on several major activist forays of its own.

Now, presumably, William Rehnquist will have his chance as Chief Justice to lead the Supreme Court away from the activist, constitutional premises and methods of the Warren Court. Justice Rehnquist's record is sharply at odds with virtually all major aspects of the Warren Court's constitutional innovations.

It may well be that the nation is ready for a reaction in constitutional fundamentals. The Warren Court's valiant efforts to exorcise the constitutional demon of racism required the Court to upset long-held patterns of deference to state courts and state legislatures. Racism was ingrained not only in state laws dealing explicitly with race but also in the administration of state criminal laws and state election laws, and in state responses to exercises of freedom of expression, particularly in the streets. The patterns of Federal judicial dominance that emerged to promote racial equality, however, were not limited to race relations, and activism in pursuit of racial equality easily and naturally led to activism in pursuit of other constitutional ends.

The Warren Court's activism rested on the notion that the Supreme Court must pursue the long-deferred vindication of the rights of blacks because of their exclusion from political participation and from the administration of criminal law, and because segregation reduced blacks to the status of legal outcasts. But now that

black people are, at least in rudimentary and formal ways, participants in politics and law administration, the premise that judicial activism is essential to the constitutional protection of minorities is under challenge. This threatens further constitutional progress for black people, and once habits of judicial deference set in with respect to race they will tend to generalize themselves throughout constitutional law, as did the habits of activism before.

For the past 50 years, our constitutional law has been playing out patterns set in motion by the Constitutional Revolution of 1938, when the Supreme Court, as reconstituted by Franklin D. Roosevelt, retreated from judicial activism in economic regulation and began to build a theory of activism for protection of minority rights and civil liberties. In many ways, Charles Evans Hughes, the great Chief Justice of the 1930's, is the doctrinal godfather of the Warren Court.

The nominations of Justice Rehnquist and Judge Scalia represent a major challenge to this jurisprudence of civil rights and civil liberties that traces back to the 1930's. In their approach to civil liberties, and perhaps civil rights as well, they stand for a degree of deference to the states and to the political branches that parallels the hands-off approach to review of economic regulation taken by the Supreme Court since the 1930's. Thus, these appointments constitute a greater challenge to the received tradition of constitutional law than any we have seen for a half century.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
Flora Lewis

## The Confusion Plot

PARIS President Reagan now describes the recent Soviet arms control proposals as a "serious effort" and calls for the U.S. and Soviet Union to "leave behind suspicion between our peoples and replace it with understanding."

Never mind that this is the President who has often used some very different language about the Russians and their regime. It seems invidious to repeat it. These are also the Moscow proposals that were repeatedly brushed aside by Administration leaders as mere propaganda.

The Administration has said in sequence that SALT II is dead, that the U.S. will no longer observe its limitations, that it is not dead but just stopped existing because of Soviet violations, that the U.S. won't build more nuclear weapons than the Russians do, and that Washington's purpose is not to undermine SALT II but to go on to dismantling more weapons under a new, more rigorous treaty.

It has said that it will abide by the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, that the treaty is really elastic anyway and can accommodate Star Wars development, and that it doesn't like the Soviet request for a commitment not to denounce the A.B.M. treaty for 15 to 20 years. It refuses to negotiate on an end to all nuclear tests.

Last winter, before most of this, a Soviet official who is supposed to be something of an expert on America asked seriously if Washington was determined to bewilder and disorient Mikhail Gorbachev with conflicting policy statements.

Now, after the initially cold responses to Mr. Gorbachev's latest proposals, some of them echoing previous American offers, Soviet officials turn around the quip that Britain's Foreign Minister Sir Geoffrey Howe made tellingly about Moscow

## Perplexing the Russians is no way to help arms control

over a year ago. "Washington," they say, "won't take yes for an answer."

Russians are prone to suspect conspiracies, their history is studded with plots. They are probably going too far if they suppose there is a special team in some underground Washington situation room masterminding contradictory policy statements so Moscow won't know what to think. The surface evidence doesn't require a great stretch of the imagination, though, to conclude that somebody somewhere is busy making sure that signals are regularly crossed.

It isn't surprising to hear questions about a confusion plot. Others wonder whether Washington is engaged in unusually clever negotiating tactics to reach a dramatically important compromise, reversing the arms race and reassuring the nervous world.

Le Monde's correspondent reported as equal and opposite likelihoods that Mr. Reagan does want a treaty and that he just wants to head off Congressional and allied reaction to his abandonment of SALT II.

Certainly, there is no visible decision to set forth coherent, consistent, cogent statements of American policy, so that both friends and adversaries can know what to expect from the U.S.

It is often said that the Russians know more about the formulation of U.S. policy than the U.S. knows about theirs, partly because much more information is available and partly because they train a lot of people to spend their lives studying America.

But the "white noise" that echoes all over Washington seems to make it just as hard for them to read the U.S. correctly as Moscow's secrecy does in blocking American analysis. Various Administration spokesmen as well as important members of Congress and people of influence go off in so many directions that the streamers merely flap, without a prevailing wind.

Mr. Gorbachev evidently made a mistake in February when he held out for promise of "progress" before setting a date for the next summit, which he agreed in Geneva with Mr. Reagan to hold in the U.S. this year. His experts seemed to think Mr. Reagan was so eager for the meeting that concessions could be extracted beforehand. Now he is caught on his precondition and is having trouble wriggling off.

But the summit is in Mr. Gorbachev's interest, at least as much as in Mr. Reagan's, because just exchanging visits to each other's countries might help a little in getting messages through and understood.

There isn't much chance in the circumstances that either side will "leave suspicion behind." Administration zig-zag talk only serves to increase it, including the suspicion that Washington is deliberately scheming to confuse.

Marxists claim they have a "scientific" method of analysis, and they aren't much good at handling nonsense. But perplexing the Russians can't help the U.S. move toward the "safer and more peaceful" world Mr. Reagan says he wants. It is time to explode the confusion-plot theory and enounce clear policy.

## Paraguay for the Paraguayans

By Domingo Laino

I have been living in exile from my native Paraguay since 1982. This week, I am going back — much as Benigno S. Aquino Jr. tried to go back to the Philippines and Kim Dae Jung went back to South Korea — to challenge Gen. Alfredo Stroessner and assert my right to my homeland.

I was exiled in punishment for the "crime" of writing a book about General Stroessner's good friend, the late Gen. Anastasio Somoza Debayle of Nicaragua. When I have tried to go home over the past four years, my car has been turned back at the border and the planes I have been on have been denied permission to land. I have repeatedly offered to go back and stand trial for any charges the Government wishes to make against me, for I know I am an innocent man.

Today, as when I left, Paraguayans continue to struggle with the same decrepit regime that seized power in 1954 and has ruled ever since through an unconstitutional state of siege. "Peace and work with Stroessner" is the regime's favorite slogan, and it

Domingo Laino, an economist, is head of Paraguay's Authentic Liberal Radical Party.

has plastered those words all over Asunción on billboards and in neon signs. But if there is peace under General Stroessner, why has he needed to maintain a state of siege for 32 years? If there is work, why does one out of every three Paraguayans have to leave the country in search of a job?

Today's Paraguayans are increasingly aware of the winds of democracy blowing through Latin America — in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. They also take hope from Haiti and the Philippines, where the people have banished the dictators who dominated their nations for years.

Even more important is the shift Paraguayans note in the Reagan Administration. The United States Ambassador, Clyde Taylor, has established contact with members of the Paraguayan opposition, expressing his commitment to human rights. These gestures have offended the dictatorship, which has been scathingly critical of the ambassador.

Paraguayans have also been affected by the foreign debt and the drop in their export income: both have contributed to the country's economic crisis, and have created grave divisions within the General's Colorado Party. Some members of the democratic opposition have taken to the streets of Asunción, where their peaceful protests have been met by violence.

## The U.S. can help by opposing loans

There is, then, increasing pressure inside the country for a transition to democracy. But this transition cannot be peaceful without support from abroad and from the armed forces and the Roman Catholic Church.

The church has already assumed its role in the process by calling for a national dialogue. The democratic forces in Paraguay have accepted the call; only General Stroessner is opposed. The armed forces have not yet announced their position, but there is some hope that they will support a political opening.

A large majority of officers joined General Stroessner's party only because it was necessary for their military careers. What's more, the corruption of the last decades has benefited only a few officers at the top; many soldiers live on their salaries and suffer from the same economic

pressures the average citizen does. Certainly, those officers who are loyal to their institution — and not to the Colorado Party — are gradually preparing to join the church as a force for a peaceful transition.

Paraguay's political parties will have a less crucial role in the transition, for they have been weakened by General Stroessner's "divide and rule" tactics. Yet it remains important that no single political party be allowed to dominate the period of transition — certainly not the General's party. It is up to us Paraguayans, then, to strengthen the other parties, reinforcing their sense of their rights and obligations as they prepare to govern.

This optimistic scenario will depend in large part on the attitude of the United States. General Stroessner has been engulfed by economic problems of his own making. Over the next six months, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank will consider some \$245 million in loans to Paraguay. If Washington backs these loans, it will extend a lifeline to the oldest dictatorship in the Americas. If the United States chooses to deny General Stroessner its economic, political and moral support, the Paraguayan people can continue to advance toward a new life in freedom from fear.



# 'Arsenic' Returning to Broadway

By LESLIE BENNETTS

Devoted to each other and to their charities, the Brewster sisters are renowned for their thoughtfulness as they donate toys to poor children, make soup for the ill and jam for the healthy, and lavish their neighborly attentions on all who need them. This includes elderly gentlemen who are lonely and homeless. For them, the Brewsters' favorite charity is murder.

So far the ladies have killed 11 (or is it 12?) old men, helping their callers to attain eternal peace with great dispatch, thanks to a delicious concoction of homemade elderberry wine liberally dosed with arsenic, strychnine and cyanide.

Mass murder might seem an unlikely subject for a Broadway comedy even now, let alone 45 years ago, when "Arsenic and Old Lace" first arrived on the stage. Indeed, several hours before it opened, Howard Lindsay shook Russell Crouse's hand and said, "It is my studied conviction that we either have a very big hit or we will both be run out of town by an outraged citizenry."

As it turned out, Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Crouse, the play's producers, did indeed have a very big hit. "Arsenic" ran for four years on Broadway, was made into a Frank Capra movie starring Cary Grant, and has maintained its status as one of the most popular plays in the country ever since. However, it has never received a major New York revival until now.

That will change Thursday, when a new production starring Jean Stapleton, Polly Holliday and Tony Roberts opens at the 46th Street Theater. Directed by Brian Murray, whose most recent credit is the staging of last season's revival of "Hay Fever," "Arsenic" also features William Hickey and Abe Vigoda.

Although the playwright of record is Joseph Kesselring, "Arsenic" was substantially rewritten by Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Crouse, themselves playwrights who were simultaneously enjoying another hit with "Life With Father." As Mr. Crouse later observed, a play whose principal characters are "murderers or maniacs or both" and whose love scenes consist of several alterations in which the leading man tells the ingenue to go home and stop bothering him seemed to defy the prevailing conventions of the stage. When asked why they decided to stage "Arsenic" anyway, Mr. Crouse replied cheerfully that he and Mr. Lindsay were "both nuts."

"It was a big question mark,



Boris Karloff in the original version—"Arsenic" paid back its investors at a ratio of 40 to one.

whether or not it would be a success, because it was such a wild idea," recalls Dorothy Stickney, Mr. Lindsay's widow. "I think this play was the first of its kind, and it came as a surprise. No one was offended. Everyone just laughed and laughed."

They laughed for years; with 1,444 performances, "Arsenic" became one of the longest-running plays ever staged on Broadway, as well as a per-

ennial favorite for stock and amateur productions. It has consistently ranked among the two or three most frequently produced plays of the last four decades, along with "You Can't Take It With You," and "Arsenic" has also been produced around the world, in countries ranging from Rumania to Brazil.

Given its enduring popularity, nobody connected with the current re-

vival seems to be able to come up with a good reason why the play hasn't returned to Broadway before this. "I have no idea," says Anna Crouse, Russell's widow and the mother of Lindsay Crouse, the actress, and Timothy Crouse, a writer. "People are under the impression that everybody's seen it, maybe because the movie gets seen a lot. But hopefully there will be a whole new audience for it."

Indeed, those who have only seen the movie are likely to be surprised by the play; the screenplay made considerable alterations to the original script, including the substitution of a sugar-coated ending. The current revival follows the play faithfully, down to the last deliciously gruesome scene, and restores the previously excised fun Lindsay and Crouse had at the expense of drama critics, among other satirical targets.

"We all have ideas about the play," Mr. Murray notes. "It seems like something very familiar—but when I reread it, I found how many layers there were in it that I didn't remember. Capra rewrote it in a lot of ways; he had Cary Grant, and it was wartime, and I think he tried to make it into a romantic comedy. He took a lot of the satirical edges out of it. But this is a play that has a definite blackness about the comedy."

In addition to the Brewster sisters, the characters include their three nephews: Mortimer, the drama critic for a leading newspaper; Jonathan, who has just escaped from an institution for the criminally insane; and Teddy, who thinks he is Teddy Roosevelt and spends much of his time down in the basement digging what he believes to be locks for the Panama Canal (holes put to good use by his aunts as final resting places for their gentlemen callers, whom Teddy obligingly buries after being told they are victims of yellow fever). Mortimer glumly describes his family as "what you'd expect if Strindberg had written 'Helzapoppin.'"

For Mr. Roberts, who plays Mortimer, the movie—a regular feature on late-night television as well as the revival circuit—represented a significant stumbling block. "I thought Cary Grant was wonderful," he says, "and it's very difficult to erase that kind of image from my mind. I'm not sure I've been successful. But if you have to do it eight times a week, you can quickly run dry if all you're doing is re-creating the outlines of another idea. The trick is to try to discover it anew for yourself, and to do it as nobody else ever could have done it."

His own Mortimer has turned out to be somewhat different. "I've tried

not to make him dapper in the way Mr. Grant was dapper, or in command, as he was always in command," Mr. Roberts explains. "I think I've attempted to make him what the play says he was before he became a drama critic, which was a real estate reporter—a guy who's really not that sophisticated, perhaps, or that charming. He's a bit more distracted, absent-minded, a bit more of a bumbler—and therefore, hopefully, what he's confronted with is all the more horrific for him. Mortimer gets hysterical at times because he's the only sane person in the midst of a madhouse."

The ubiquitousness of "Arsenic" in stock and amateur productions is at-

The play has been produced around the world for the last four decades.

tested to by the fact that Mr. Roberts, Miss Holliday and Miss Stapleton have all done the play before. Indeed, Miss Holliday agreed to sign on for the new production partly because she had so much fun doing it years ago in stock. However, Miss Stapleton's previous experience was a deterrent.

"I said, 'Oh, no, I've done it a couple of times,'" she reports. "I didn't think I'd like it that much. Finally I thought, well, all right, I'll reread it. And I did, and said, 'There's nothing wrong with this play.' When I started rehearsing with 'Folly,' I thought, 'Aha! Now I know why I didn't have a happy experience before.' The casting made a great difference. It's so important that those two sisters blend. The sisters must be an ensemble; one picks up a speech where the other leaves off. They're so well attuned to each other, and know each other's minds so well, after living together all their lives—sort of twin types."

A sweetly dotty pair who give each of their victims a proper funeral, Aunt Abby and Aunt Martha carefully

tallor every service to the religious persuasion of the deceased, complete with appropriate hymns. Combining the sisters' dizzy solicitude with the inescapable fact that their hobby is homicide proved a delicate task for the director as well as the actresses.

"It's a fragile play," Mr. Murray says. "If there's anything that's knowing or tough, that gets away from the essential innocence of the people; then it becomes quite ugly. They can become ghouls. The charm of it lies in their innocence and the purity of their motives."

The spooky aspects of the play are constantly relieved by laughter, of course, and that too helps banish any hint of grimness. "The scary moments are scary, but the farcical moments break that completely," Mr. Murray says.

The play—which was originally entitled "The Bodies in the Cellar"—first came to the attention of Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Crouse when Mr. Kesselring sent it to Miss Stickney in hopes that she would agree to play one of the Brewster sisters. "It was not well written, but the whole idea was funny," says Miss Stickney, who was co-starring with her husband in "Life With Father" at the time. "I got to laughing so over the script that Howard got interested and said, 'Whatever are you laughing at?' I said, 'Howard, this is one of the funniest scripts I've ever read.'"

The original production had 23 backers, most of whom contributed \$500 each, although one put up the munificent sum of \$7,500. The whole production cost \$35,000, which seemed "very expensive," Mrs. Crouse reports, "because two years earlier 'Life With Father' only cost \$25,000."

"Arsenic" turned into a gold mine, paying back its investors at a ratio of 40 to one, letters from the firm of Lindsay & Crouse to their investors were routinely addressed with such salutations as "Dear Lucky Stiff," "Dear Tax-Payer," and "You Money-Mad People."

Times have changed, of course; the current revival cost \$700,000, according to its producers, Elliot Martin. Whether contemporary theatergoers will find "Arsenic" as enthralling as their predecessors remains to be seen, but the hope is that Broadway's recent ill will make the climate all the more receptive.

## Kurosawa's Mighty 'Ran' Weathers the Seasons

By VINCENT CANBY

In any context, in any year, the grandeur of Akira Kurosawa's "Ran" could not go easily unrecognized. One would have to be willfully blind. In this muggy season, however, "Ran" is almost a religious experience—an epiphany, a reminder that there still can be life before one softens to death in the ooze of late 20th-century popular culture. "Ran" stands above all other 1985-86 movies with the implacable presence of a force of nature.

That, at least, was the revivifying impression on seeing it again at the Cinema Studio the other afternoon, nearly nine months after watching it the first time at the New York Film Festival.

It's difficult to write about "Ran" without making it sound terribly worthy—the sort of movie that's a solemn duty to see. Everything about it is intimidating.

It's the 27th feature of this most celebrated of Japanese directors, one of the two most long-lived of still-active, contemporary film makers—the other being John Huston who, at 80, has a slight edge on the 78-year-old Kurosawa.

With the popular success of "Ran," it's clear that Kurosawa remains a glorious anachronism—an independent, self-absorbed artist in a field that's totally dependent on profits from investments that (considering all of the other needs of our society) are unconsciously extravagant. Yet he doesn't make movies that, by the stretch of anybody's imagination, could be said to possess built-in appeal.

He's survived into old age in an art ravaged by the constant search for the "new." He's persisted in making only those films that express his own concerns (with, among other things, man's moral responsibilities and his relation to the universe), in a style that pays little attention to current fashions but, instead, is virtually an anthology of cinema from its earliest days to the present. It's not an arbitrary style, but a form dictated by the subject matter that, in turn, is illuminated by visual eloquence.

Brought in on a budget of \$12 million (which is approximately half of what "Ghostbusters" cost), "Ran" is the most expensive film ever made in Japan. What's even more intimidating is that it's Kurosawa's version of Shakespeare's "King Lear."

"Ran," which translates as either "chaos" or "tumult," is long—just under three hours—but it's also a rousing, exotically costumed, period melodrama that works from the viscera upward to the brain. It's an epic whose spectacularly staged and photographed battle scenes (equaled only by those in Olivier's "Henry V") are both functions of the fable being told and hallucinatory representations of the emotional chaos in which Hidetora, the film's glib old Lear, finds himself.

Hidetora is not really Lear, nor is "Ran" a "King Lear" transposed to feudal Japan. Kurosawa has borrowed what he wanted from Shakespeare (which is quite a lot) to give bleak point to the apparently well-known legend of Motonari Mori, a 16th-century warlord whose three sons are regarded as examples of filial virtue in Japan. Feeling that Shakespeare never adequately explained why Lear brought down such a terrible fate on himself, Kurosawa has supplied his own reasons while turning a favorite tale inside out.

Hidetora, now a vain, arrogant, physically failing tyrant of 70, has acquired his vast domain during a life devoted to nonstop wars of a ferocity and brutality that, he fondly believes in his dotage, have led to this time of peace and plenty. He has married off his two eldest sons to the daughters of defeated chiefs and, as "Ran" opens, is considering bids from two other warlords who offer their daughters in marriage to Hidetora's youngest son, Saburo.

At this marriage conference, the old man announces that he's retiring. He's dividing his lands among the three sons and asks them to swear allegiance to him and to one another. Only Saburo objects, not because he's an innocent but because he realizes that such a fragile understanding will be no adequate defense against the violence and greed that are his father's most enduring legacies.

Saburo is immediately banished, but it's not his brothers who are the principal causes of Hidetora's undoing—they're totally faithless, but not very imaginative. Kurosawa's most nervy invention is Lady Kaede, the delicate, seemingly self-effacing wife of Hidetora's eldest son, Taro. At the proper time, Kaede becomes an amalgam of Goneril, Regan and Lady Macbeth, though she's a woman fired not by ambition but by revenge on the clan that murdered her family and installed her in luxurious bondage.

As played by Mieko Harada, Lady Kaede is so supremely, breathtakingly evil that her audacity is exhilarating. She's a spellbinding woman and a character of truly Shakespearean proportions. She can hold a dagger to a man's throat one minute, and start slowly to cut, and, in the next minute, seduce the poor fellow so effectively that he thinks he doesn't want to live without her.

There are plenty of parallels to "Lear" in "Ran," including the faithful Fool, the "mad" scenes on a Japanese heath, and even some lines ("I have tales to tell, forgiveness to ask"), but "Ran" is a magnificent original.

It couldn't be anything but what it is—not a play or a novel or an epic poem. It works entirely through film artistry, not through language and certainly not through mere plot, though it's a good one. "Ran" defines the differences that separate movies from all of the other arts.

I suppose that "Ran" is a tragedy, but Hidetora, played with high theatricality by Tatsuya Nakadai in exaggerated, Noh theater makeup, doesn't exactly elicit pity. Like the film's vast landscapes and elaborate castles, like the apocalyptic battle scenes, and like the violent weather that accompanies its great events, Hidetora is awesome. As in all of Kurosawa's greatest characters—from the dying bureaucrat in "Ikari" to the warrior's peasant "double" in "Kagemusha," there's also in Hidetora a streak of stubbornness that becomes heroic.

Kurosawa regards Hidetora with concern that extends to the entire human condition. In the past, Kurosawa's so-called humanism has been praised by being equated with a sort of easy optimism, exemplified by the poor woodcutter's adoption of the baby at the end of "Rashomon." He's far more rigorous now. Kurosawa is a humanist, but in "Ran" he expresses himself with no hint of sentimentality.

"Ran" is very much the work of a man who's lived a long, rich and sometimes deeply troubled life. Now there's no time left to cater to the genteel sensibilities of others. In spite of all its beauty, "Ran" is blunt. It makes its points abruptly, which may be what his younger Japanese critics mean when today they describe the Kurosawa oeuvre as "old-fashioned." It's hugely entertaining but never soothing.

Kurosawa said somewhere recently that he wouldn't attempt to make a film about life in contemporary Japan. His reason: he couldn't possibly express everything he wanted to say about a society in the midst of such devastating change. The world is moving too fast for him to dare to undertake the sort of social satires, comedies and dramas that he turned out with such exuberance in the late 1940's, 1950's and 1960's.

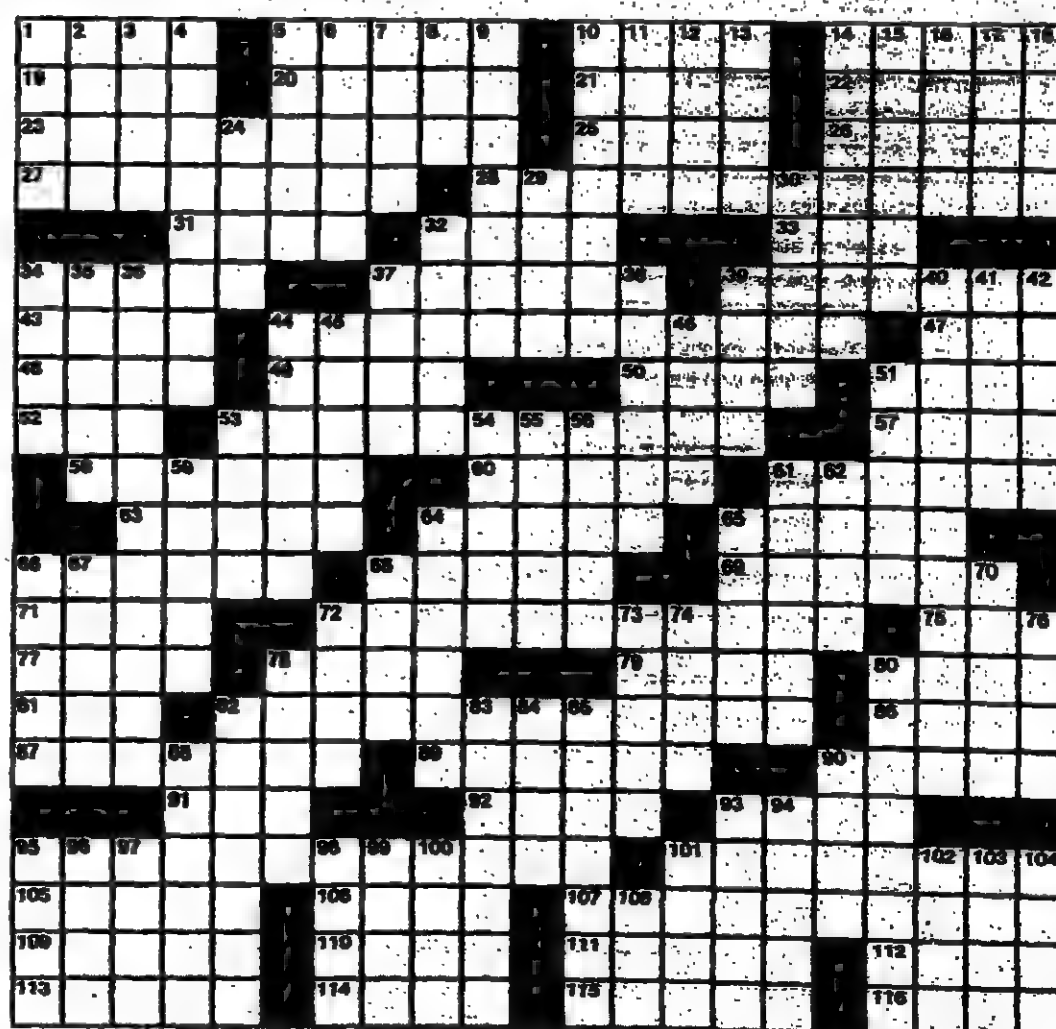
However, by looking into the past, as he is in "Ran" and the earlier "Kagemusha," he's not escaping from the present but only clearing away its modish debris, in this way to be able to deal more efficiently (and with less emotionalism) with themes common to all men, in all eras.

Much like Kurosawa at this point, "Ran," a masterpiece, stands outside time.

## Surname Game

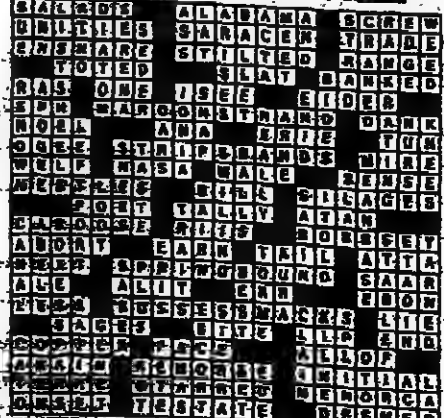
BY MARY M. MURDOCH/Puzzles Edited by LAURENCE J. MANNING

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### ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE





FEATURES



Evgeny Lein and son Alexei. Lein works with all the refusenik groups, whether religious, culturally oriented or politically active. At right, children of refuseniks at a Hebrew lesson in Moscow.

# Refuseniks: The captive Israelis - Part II

## CALL IT COURAGE

Just back from the USSR, The Jerusalem Post's Louis Rapoport continues his report on the unending struggle of longtime refuseniks and their children

FOR YEARS, the KGB has used army duty as a weapon against the refuseniks. Before 1980, according to Evgeny Lein, a veteran leader among Leningrad activists, hardly any sons of refuseniks were being inducted. "Everything was more open, and then, the emigration stopped. Now, the KGB uses the threat of induction to make the fathers of teen-age boys less active." Evgeny's youngest child, Alexei, was seven when his mathematician father first applied to emigrate in 1978. Now, he's rapidly approaching draft age.

The Soviets have severely punished Jews who have Israeli citizenship and refuse to serve in the Red Army (army service would block their emigration, illegally, for many years). In 1980, Gregory Geishis and Simon Shneerman were sent to prison for two-and-a-half years. When Shneerman got out, and was still of draft age, the Soviets tried him again and sent him back to prison. According to Lein, there was not enough support from abroad for these victims. "The resistance to the draft stopped from that moment, when other boys saw that nobody in the West really paid enough attention. From that time, the kids of refuseniks have been going to the army, which makes the refuseniks more quiet. They take away your sons. It's a very effective KGB tool. We decided, when the time comes, that our son will go; but we will protest, fight, inform people, create publicity."

Dr. Lein and his wife Irina, who has a Ph.D. in chemistry, both lost their jobs when they applied to emigrate. He now tutors students in mathematics and physics. It has been a long struggle ever since, as they were frequently arrested and handled by the KGB, and their children were expelled from school, and Lein was imprisoned for a year.

Martin Gilbert wrote about the Leins in *Jews of Hope*, and *The New York Times* ran an editorial appealing to the Soviets to allow the Leins to go to Israel. Former Israeli president Ephraim Katzir tried to visit the Leins in 1984, but was pulled away by the KGB. All the attention may have kept him from further prison terms, but there has been no indication that the Soviet authorities will relent - or even reconnect their telephone. Meanwhile, Lein keeps tabs on the latest tactics employed by the secret police, and gives comfort to the families of prisoners.

Lein works with all of the various refusenik groups, whether they're religious, culturally-oriented, or more politically active. "We mustn't struggle against each other," he says. "We have the KGB, and we are in one boat."

ON THE DAY I visited Anya Lifshitz, whose husband Vladimir was arrested on January 8 under Article 190 (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda), she was saying goodbye to her 18-year-old son, Boris, who was being drafted into the army. Vladimir, 45, a mathematician/economist with a Ph.D., was beaten in prison in February, had a brain concussion and a broken nose, and spent 10 days in the prison hospital. The KGB had ordered the criminals in his cell to teach him a lesson. He was sentenced a month later to the maximum three-year term (his crime was to write about their lives in letters to friends in Israel, the U.S. and England).

A file was opened on Anya for refusing to testify against her husband. She was allowed to visit him in late May. At that time, he was still suffering from the consequences of the beating and had lost consciousness two days before the meeting. No doctor was treating him.

Anya and her 11-year-old daughter, Maria ("Masha"), are left alone now. Boris was taken into the army after the KGB insisted that a military medical commission reverse its decision that he was physically unfit to serve because of stomach ulcers. KGB men accompanied the youth all along the way in their quest to break up this family. Boris continues to regard himself "as an Israeli kept here by force."

Anya, 41, a construction engineer before she became a refusenik, was in despair over what the KGB was doing to her family. She is a refined and delicate woman, who came from an assimilated family and never imagined that she would be in such a situation. But as her friend Evgeny Lein said, "She is a very strong person, and the family is united in spirit - they will persevere."

One of Anya's closest friends is Galina Zelikovich, whose husband, Roald (Alik), is another Prisoner of Zion, a Hebrew teacher who also is fluent in Japanese and English. He had been warned by the KGB to stop teaching Hebrew, for it is considered a subversive activity. (In fact, Hebrew is a crucial element in the reawakening of Soviet Jewry, in terms of religious as well as national identification.) He was accused of leading a Zionist conspiracy, and in August 1985, he received a three-year term for writing letters to the West.

Galina, who is almost totally blind, is a Russian-Polish woman who converted to Judaism and keeps a kosher, traditional home. In May, she travelled 3,000 kilometres to visit her husband in a Kazakhstan prison. Spouses are allowed two such visits a year, of up to three days. But Jews are rarely allowed more than a one-day visit. She found him in extremely poor health. In March, when his blood pressure was 190/130, doctors recommended that he be hospitalized. Now, two months later, his blood pressure was 220/130. Despite his medical problems, her husband spoke joyfully about Shcharansky's release and the impact he thought "Tolya" would have on people who have never given Soviet Jews a second thought. "No other man can tell the truth like Tolya can," Galina said. "We are so happy that he is home and that he still shows his concern for all of us."

Although she lives alone, Galina has many friends in the refusenik community, including many of Alik's former pupils. She feels tremendous gratitude to supporters abroad, and one of her treasures is a fistful of letters from Kibbutz Gezer, which has "adopted" the Zelikovichs.

LOVE BLOOMS in the movement, but the KGB always tries to play the spoiler. In March, Lev Furman, a veteran Leningrad refusenik in his forties and close friend of Ida Nudel, met 26-year-old Marina, a Kiev refusenik, in Tbilisi, Georgia, where they both went to say goodbye to the Goldstein brothers. When Marina flew back to Leningrad, a KGB general, Zaslavsky, sat next to her. The general, former head of the KGB "Jewish department" in Leningrad, knew of their wedding plans. "We'll see to it that your husband won't be around when you give birth to your first baby," he said. "The fate of your first child will be terrible. It's our mistake that Furman is not sitting in jail. We'll take him after your wedding." Lev and Marina got married in June in a civil ceremony, and plan a religious wedding in July.

INA BEGUN, wife of Yosef Begun, the longest serving and best-known of the Prisoners of Zion, believes the Soviets may continue to add years to her husband's sentence, taking revenge on a stubborn man who won't be broken. Dr. Begun, 34, the Moscow-born mathematician and



Above, Victor and Irina Brailovsky (in their 14th year of refusal) with their family. 'It's absolutely another era... Friends who got out in the 1970s don't understand.' Below, Moshe Furman, 80, with a picture of his son Lev, a veteran Leningrad refusenik.

Hebrew teacher, has suffered three trials and punishments since 1977. He served over four years in exile in Siberia. Then, in October 1983, he was sentenced to seven years in prison and five years' exile in Siberia. The charge was "anti-Soviet propaganda."

Begun, an observant Jew, is uncompromising in his demand to wear a skullcap. Therefore, in April 1985, he was punished for breaking the dress code. He does not honour their "laws," and so is now under strict regime at Chistopol prison, where Shcharansky was also incarcerated. "They say he is a 'negative influence' on the other prisoners," says Ina, who lives in Moscow. "Under the new Soviet article, 189/3, the chief of the labour camp or prison now has the right to prolong a prisoner's term. So jail may be unlimited. It's another way for them to bully prisoners. But it is impossible to change Yosef's nature, his behaviour. His nature is to be a Jew, to talk to prisoners, Jews and gentiles, about the Holocaust and its meaning. That's considered 'Zionist propaganda' by the Soviets, and they punish him for it."

She has not seen her husband since she and Baruch, his 21-year-old son by his first marriage, visited him on August 2, 1985. (His other adopted son, 19-year-old Barak, studies at a yeshiva in Israel.) Yosef is not allowed visits or mail privileges, packages or a normal diet. Ina is hoping to see him again in October - "if he's not still being punished."

The Soviet authorities have told Ina that she should influence her husband's behaviour. But she knows he will not yield in any way. She fears he will soon go on a hunger strike, and that his poor health will deteriorate seriously. "He insists on observing Shabbat, festivals and fasts. I won't tell him to compromise. It's his nature - I would be helping them to break his nature. He needs my support, not advice to compromise. I only ask him to avoid the hunger strike. But for him, it's the only way to protest."

"Support from the West is crucial. It is the only way he can survive." She feels that Anatoly Shcharansky understands her husband's situation better than anyone else. "He knows it better than I ever could. I know there are many demands on him, but I would like to speak with him - but of course, they deny me any calls from overseas. I wanted to send my best regards to him, and to congratulate him and Avital. I'm sure their happiness now is the reward for all their work and his suffering."

THE SLEPAKS, Vladimir ("Volodia") and Maria ("Masha") have



been leading Jewish activists for 16 years, and are, with Ida Nudel and Yosef Begun, the best-known. Vladimir was Anatoly Shcharansky's close friend, and the two served as the representative of the Jewish emigration movement on the original Helsinki Watch Group, led by dissident Yuri Orlov.

Through the years, the Slepaks have been constantly harassed, imprisoned, exiled in Siberia. Their two grown sons were permitted to emigrate in the late 1970s. The Slepaks' "record" is very long, and they had many confrontations with the KGB, as they helped hundreds of Jews to get to Israel. In one such incident, in June 1978, they hung a banner from their balcony on Gorky street, Moscow's main thoroughfare, saying "Let us go to Israel." KGB men, occupying neighbouring apartments, poured boiling water over them and tore down their banner. They were then arrested and charged with "hooliganism."

In December 1982, they returned to Moscow after five years in Siberia. Two years later, they were once again refused exit permits, because Slepak's work as a radio engineer some 15 years earlier had been "classified." (Recently, Soviet leader Gorbachev gave an interview to the French Communist daily *L'Humanité* in which he said that the maximum for such secrets was 10 years, and that no one would be denied the right to emigrate if he had had no access to state secrets for this period. Although Soviet television and radio reported the interview, they did not mention Gorbachev's "10-year" statement. If it were true, thousands of refuseniks who have been denied the right to emigrate would now be allowed to go.)

By 1985, the Slepaks were thoroughly demoralized by the lack of

muscular man and a stunning woman, both wearing white T-shirts, smiled, took me by the arm, and said: "The KGB are at the house. We'll go somewhere else to talk." The woman's shirt was stenciled with Hebrew letters, reading *Am Yisrael Hai*, the People of Israel Live. They introduced themselves: Lisa (Leah) Shneerman and Vladimir "Volodia" Zuckerman, a veteran refusenik and former Prisoner of Zion. We talked for a few minutes in a park, and then were joined by Lisa's husband, Simon, a well-known refusenik who, at age 28, had just completed his second prison term. He informed us that the KGB men had left, and we could go back to the house.

The Shneermans and their three-year-old daughter, Yana, live in a tiny room in a rickety wooden house. It was built after the war by Lisa's parents, who brought up nine children there. Simon, who is on probation for a year, has to be in the house from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. every day. The KGB comes often, at all hours of the night. During Passover, they woke up the Shneermans constantly. (Half an hour after we entered the house, the KGB men surrounded it again.) Simon is a second generation refusenik, who refused to play the game with the army. He is the only refusenik in the USSR who went to prison twice for refusing induction.

Zuckerman, 39, is an engineer, whose 11-year-old son lives with his mother in Israel. Volodia spent three years in Siberia for "anti-Soviet activity," getting out in 1984. He hasn't seen his son for nine years, or spoken to him on the phone in over a year. Shneerman's father, David, who first applied to go to Israel in 1959, died in Haifa. Simon's sister lives in Holon.

The dream of all three is to live in Israel, "our motherland," Simon calls it.

There are thousands of Jews in Kishinev, but the Shneermans and Zuckerman are virtually all alone. "There's a circle of about 10-20 refuseniks, but we are afraid of a lot of people," Lisa explained. "The pressure on refuseniks is much greater in a small town."

Simon played old tapes of Naomi Shemer and Arik Sinai songs. He said that his friend Volodia, who had recently staged a hunger strike to protest against the continuing Soviet refusal to grant him an exit visa, had received one of those ominous official warnings from the KGB, saying he supplied "incorrect information" to people and faced another trial for "anti-Soviet activity." The local newspaper termed him a "deviant," a "terrorist," a Zionist agent, a saboteur. "The next step is to call him a spy," Lisa said.

They set out a feast in the tiny room, and plied me with questions about Israel. No Israeli had been to Kishinev in six years, they said, but they get letters from Kibbutz Hatzor and Kibbutz Mishmar Hanegev, and

from individuals like Mira Gotesman of Kfar Sava. They have no words to express their gratitude for these contacts. They used to get parcels from European and American Jews, but not recently. But what they want is visitors - especially Israelis.

Three hours later, the KGB men drove off, and I could go on my way without anything to worry about. No nightmare secret police: no knock on the door at midnight.

OTHER ACTIVISTS include: Victor and Irina Brailovsky, of Moscow, in the 14th year of refusal, who are still being turned down on the basis of "state secrets." The Jewish movement has never been so suppressed, he says. "It's absolutely another era, another epic. Friends who got out in the 1970s don't understand. Now, for instance, we would never talk about activities. Punishment is much quicker, and more severe."

Elielzer Jousefovich, 37, father of four, a Moscow refusenik since 1980, turned down for "state secrets" because of army duty 14 years ago. "We try to be Israelis here, and Jews. The connection is strong. My wife Katya and I try to educate our kids as Israelis, no matter what the authorities do to suppress us."

Moshe Furman, 80, Lev's father, a Leningrad refusenik since 1974, a highly decorated war hero and career navy captain. "We are all growing older together in refusal, as the new generation of refuseniks grows up."

Aba Taratuta, 50, a long-time leader of Jewish activists in Leningrad, known for his loyalty, sense of humour and dedication. "I heard Shcharansky on the VOA and agree 100 per cent with him about the need to retain the Jackson-Vanik amendment, and everything else he said. It's amazing he didn't lose his sense of reality after nine years in prison. Now, we must struggle for freedom of Yosef Begun, and all the other prisoners."

Alec Zilber, 33, his wife Marina, 29, of Gorky - artists who recently staged a demonstration in Moscow with their seven-year-old son, Arseny: "It's very difficult in school for the children of the refuseniks. Arseny is not a member of the Communist scout movement, so the other children taunt him. He was beaten in the presence of the teacher, who simply turned her back on it. He came home bleeding around the eyes."

Natasha Beckman (Nekrasov), 28, of Moscow, a convert who greatly helps families of prisoners, like that of Dina Zisserman (Brodsky): "Dina is waiting now in a town near Tomsk, Siberia, hoping to see her husband, Vladimir. But they recently put him in a punishment cell, and they told her he was deprived of any meetings. She was not told why he's being punished, but she was told that he would no longer be allowed to work as a doctor in the prison camp, and would be consigned to a hard-labour unit."

Judith Katner (Byaly), 53, of Moscow, whose family has been waiting for nine years: "In the absence of emigration, we must fight for everybody's family, for the people who must get out now, like Ida Nudel. The KGB is constantly warning us, threatening us. But every normal person understands our situation, that we must be allowed to go to Israel."

This is the second of two articles. The first appeared in The Jerusalem Post Magazine on Friday, June 20.

## "Bloodshed in Israeli Medicine - Personal Evidence"

The book by Dr. Yuli Nudelmann, physician and Zionist,

exposes those who are guilty of creating the country's crisis in public medicine: the establishment - the real culprits in the crisis in medicine and society, who are responsible for the cessation of aliya, and are bringing the state to the brink of destruction.

Read the indictment against the establishment. This book has been published in Hebrew and Russian.

You can purchase it in bookshops or order it by phone (057)-32245, or by mail P.O.B. 5349, Negev Press, Beersheba, Israel

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MARKET  
PLACE

MACABEE DEAN

Waiting  
game

Kupat Holim Chait's Great Pill Shortage - which is many long months old - should be considered against this background: the average Israeli earns (before generous deductions) about \$550 a month, or about \$2.75 an hour.

Let us take a hypothetical case. A Sick Fund member has a chronic disease - so minor, that only semi-annual check-ups are required. But he must take two X pills daily, or 60 a month.

Here is his Via Dolorosa! Goes to the family doctor who writes the prescription (30 minutes). Goes to clinic's office to buy six stamps of NIS 1 each to "validate" the prescription (10 minutes). Waits in line at pharmacy (30 minutes). Druggist very politely and with honest sympathy says the pills are not in stock, so he authorizes patient to buy 30 pills at a private pharmacy.

Patient pays NIS 13.20 (\$8.80) at a private pharmacy for the 30 pills (about 15 minutes). Patient returns to clinic and gets a refund (20 minutes). Then lines up to get prescription (to be filled in a fortnight) for the remaining 30 pills (30 minutes).

Total time spent: two hours and 15 minutes. He does this twice a month, not including the initial visit to the doctor, spending four hours - or half a day's work valued at about \$11 - every month to get pills costing about \$8.80 (which costs Kupat Holim about \$5 since it already employs the staff, has the premises, is non-profit, and so forth).

Yet this nightmare is an improvement over last month's procedures.

Then the druggist sent the patient to the main regional clinic. Thirty minutes to get there plus another 30 of waiting in line. Rarely were the pills available at the main clinic - and if so, often the pharmacist (and rightly so) would reserve them for his clinic's own patients. Then back (another 30 minutes) to his own clinic to the chief doctor (another 30 minutes) who would authorize the purchase of only 20 (not 30) pills. Then back to the druggist (this time without waiting in line) to get an authorization to buy the 20 pills at a private pharmacy. If we add these additional two hours to the usual two hours required, we have a total of four hours, or \$11 each time to get 20 pills valued at \$5.80.

But how does Kupat Holim save money by paying \$8.80 for a 30-day supply which should cost about \$5? The answer is simple. Many patients simply avoid the many long hours and aggravation by buying the drugs in a private pharmacy to begin with and forgetting about a refund.

The Sick Fund has already shortened its Via Dolorosa. We would like to suggest another step to shorten it - until it can provide drugs in a proper manner.

Each doctor should be given a daily list of drugs not available. He should authorize a month's, instead of two weeks', purchase at a private pharmacy. Moreover, the private pharmacies should be authorized to bill the Sick Fund directly, saving the patient the trouble of returning to the clinic for his refund. This would make Kupat Holim Chait's treatment of its patients much more human and reduce the huge workload on the clinic pharmacies. Total time spent monthly by patient: 45 minutes, or \$2, a month.

Prices unchanged  
in first half of June

By AVI TEMKIN  
Post Economic Reporter

Consumer prices remained virtually unchanged during the first half of June, largely because of a 4.9 per cent drop in the prices of fruits and vegetables, the Central Bureau of Statistics said yesterday.

The price figures published yesterday showed that in the first half of the month food prices rose 1.4 per cent, while health services prices increased 1 per cent. The drop in produce prices, however, offset the rises, while all other prices remained almost stable during the first half of the month.

Treasury officials said they expected the inflation rate for all of June to be around 1 per cent, reflecting mainly the payment of the 5.8 per cent cost-of-living allowance that workers will be receiving with this month's wages.

The publication of the fortnightly figures came as formal negotiations open for a new collective wage agreement. The talks, due to start today in Tel Aviv, are seen by the Treasury as crucial for the future of the economic stabilization plan. The ministry has already said it will not agree, in its capacity as public sector employer, to any increase in salaries.

The Ministry of Industry and Trade yesterday approved a series of consumer price rises, all of which take effect this morning.

The price of salt goes up 11 per cent; hair sprays and colourings, 10 per cent; certain household appliances, 9 per cent; and bathroom fixtures, 6 per cent. The price of a fish dinner increases 10 per cent.

The number of people seeking work grew almost 15 per cent last month, with some 43,600 job seekers registering at the labour exchanges. But the number of people unemployed for at least six days during the month remained stable, Israel Radio reported.

The number of prospective employers grew by 32 per cent, with the labour exchanges receiving some 20,000 job offers last month.

The Treasury's opening position is that from now on wages must be linked to productivity, as any increase in nominal salaries not linked to a rise in productivity would trigger a renewed rise in inflation. But the ministry is facing growing protests from the public-sector unions, while the Histadrut is insisting on small wage increases.

Finance Minister Moshe Nissim declared yesterday that the government is willing to discuss any issue the unions raise during the talks, but he insisted that no wage increase should be granted. Nissim told the cabinet that he would soon be bringing to them a proposal for budget cuts aimed at offsetting the excessive government spending of the last month.

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## AACI aiding Israeli tourism

By GREER FAY CASHMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel is aiming to help stem the decline in tourism to Israel from North America by encouraging its members to act as tour guides when they return to their home communities for visits.

A series of seminars conducted jointly by the AACI and the Tourism Ministry is helping to prepare members for the problems they will encounter in promoting tourism and provide them with the tools for retaliation.

At the first seminar yesterday, at the Moriah Hotel, Michael Gidron, director of information services for the Ministry of Tourism, emphasized the severity of the decline in

tourism from North America, noting it had plummeted 48 per cent in the past six months.

There was consensus at the session that the key problem was to counteract the media's image of Israel. Gidron emphasized the importance of convincing Americans of the normalcy of day-to-day life in Israel. Fran Alpert, a former Chicago resident who conducts archeological tours in Jerusalem, said there was easily a 70 per cent decline in tour guide business. She advised her listeners that if they wanted to sell Israel as a tourist destination, they would have to find an incentive to come here for people of all faiths.

Because Israel is the cradle of Western civilization, she declared, "there is something here that everyone can connect with."

## Dollar's rise likely to continue

The U.S. dollar ended last week higher against other major currencies, with its biggest gains coming at the expense of the Deutschmark, down 2.3 per cent against the dollar, and the Swiss franc, down 1.9 per cent. The yen was 1.7 per cent weaker, while the pound sterling was off 1.6 per cent against the dollar.

The major influence on the dollar was the Reagan administration's refusal to participate in a coordinated cut in interest rates. The dollar also gained from a larger than expected 0.9 per cent rise in May consumer spending.

Working against the U.S. currency was the downward revision in the U.S. gross national product figure - from 3.7 per cent to 2.9 per cent annual growth rate.

Nonetheless, the overall market looks bullish for the dollar. The major triangle formed over the past two months, with lower highs and higher lows for the Euro-currencies, suggests the dollar is headed for a breakout. If bond prices continue to move down, it would act as a fundamental reason to push the dollar higher. (Boaz Barak Advisory Service)

## Industry Ministry gets acting director

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon has appointed Yoram Belivsky, director of the ministry's Investments Centre, as acting ministry director-general.

Belivsky replaces Yoram Forer, who resigned last week because of the low pay.

Sharon is currently reviewing the applications of several candidates as a permanent replacement for Forer.

## Price hikes announced

The Ministry of Industry and Trade yesterday approved a series of consumer price rises, all of which take effect this morning.

The price of salt goes up 11 per cent; hair sprays and colourings, 10 per cent; certain household appliances, 9 per cent; and bathroom fixtures, 6 per cent. The price of a fish dinner increases 10 per cent.

## Joblessness rose in May

The number of people seeking work grew almost 15 per cent last month, with some 43,600 job seekers registering at the labour exchanges. But the number of people unemployed for at least six days during the month remained stable, Israel Radio reported.

The number of prospective employers grew by 32 per cent, with the labour exchanges receiving some 20,000 job offers last month.

## Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

## MARKET STATISTICS

## Indices:

General Share Index	117.25	-0.23%
Non-Bank Index	135.48	+0.06%
Arrangement	109.28	-0.40%
Insurance	132.20	-0.13%
Commerce, Services	159.79	+1.06%
Real Estate	194.18	+0.51%
Industrial	124.29	+0.03%
Textiles	149.27	-0.52%
Metals	117.51	+1.01%
Electronics	99.87	-1.21%
Chemicals	126.43	+0.34%
Industrial Invest.	116.50	-0.18%
Investment Cos.	137.21	+1.10%
General Bond Index	108.36	+0.15%
Index-linked Bonds	110.57	+0.21%
Fully-linked	112.47	+0.32%
Partially-linked	108.42	+0.12%
Dollar-linked Bonds	109.13	-0.35%
Short-term 0-2 yrs	108.46	+0.18%
Medium-term 2-5 yrs	109.01	+0.03%
Long-term 5+ yrs	107.34	+0.20%

## Turnovers:

Shares - total	NIS 6,077,000
Arrangement	NIS 2,143,800
Non-bank	NIS 3,332,200
Bonds - total	NIS 5,729,500
Index-linked	NIS 3,465,200
Dollar-linked	NIS 2,264,700
Treasury Bills	NIS 171,300

## Share Movements:

Advances	154	(114)
of which 5%+	23	(20)
"buyers only"	8	(11)
Declines	109	(119)
of which 5%+	11	(6)
"sellers only"	1	(6)
Unchanged	99	(130)
Trading Halt	60	(52)

## Bond Market Trends:

Index-linked	3% fully-linked	Mixed by 0.5-1%
--------------	-----------------	-----------------

4.25% fully-linked	Rises to 1%
80% linked	Rises to 1%
90% linked	Mixed to 1%
Double-linked	Stable to 1%
Dollar-linked:	
Admon	Mixed to 1%
Rimon	Falls to 1%
Gilboa	Falls to 1%
For. Curr.	Stable/slight movements
denominated	
Treasury Bills	1.41-1.54%
(monthly yield)	

## Arrangement yields:

IDB ord.	11.73%
Union 0.1	11.18%
Discount A	11.68%
Misrahi r.	11.48%
Hapozim r.	11.73%
General A	11.47%
Leumi stock	11.81%
Fin. Trade 1	10.58%

## SELECTED PRICE QUOTATIONS

Name	Price	Volume	%
		1000NIS	change

Meir Ezra	4880	177	+8.4
Supersol	4885	325	-0.2
Delek	2850	2602	-
Lighterage	no trading		
Cold Storage	no trading		
Dan Hotels	3940	128	+0.9
Yarden Hotel	3465	277	+10.0
Hilton 1	11000	19	-
Tsim 1	1820	384	-3.4

## Commercial Banks

(not part of "arrangement")			
Mentime 1	1120	1380	-
General non-arr.	20590	80	+0.7
First Int'l	3535	1738	-
FIBI	3735	2837	+1.7

## Commercial Banks

(part of "arrangement")			
IDB	83180	484	-0.5
Union 0.1	62800	57	+0.4
Discount	105329	57	+0.7
Mizrahi	34410	330	+0.1
Hapozim r.	56515	1005	-0.5
General A	145200	41	+0.0
Leumi 0.1	33950	221	-0.5
Fin. Trade	48800	-	-

## Mortgage Banks

Leumi mort. r.	4780	153	+1.9
Dev. Mort.	1430	530	+0.8
Mishkan r.	2270	509	+2.9
Tefahot r.	12910	34	-
Mervar	4800	307	+2.1

## Financial Institutions

Agria C	no trading		
Ind. Dev. DO	no trading		
Leasing 0.1	11110	105	+10.0
Insurance			
Ararat 0.1 r	832	890	+1.9
Hasehah r	485	1938	-
Phoenix 0.1	700	117	-1.7
Hamishah	8900	32	+4.5
Menorah 1	7500	26	-1.5
Sehar 1	4110	75	+2.0
Zion Hold. 1	16500	-	-

## Trade &amp; Services

Melir Ezra	4880	177	+8.4
Supersol	4885	325	-0.2
Delek	2850	2602	-
Lighterage	no trading		
Cold Storage	no trading		
Dan Hotels	3940	128	+0.9
Yarden Hotel	3465	277	+10.0
Hilton 1	11000	19	-
Tsim 1	1820	384	-3.4

## Real Estate, Building and

Azoria	601	6175	+2.0
Elion	346	7191	+0.3
Africa Int. 0.1	33010	151	+4.9
Hadara Paper	206000	74	+1.0
Central Trade	6430	642	-0.8
Koor p.	4880000	0	+1.7
Clal Inds.	1325	2513	-

## Investment Companies

IDB Dev. r	3800	2373	-2.1
Elion	2810	1928	-1.9
Afik 1	no trading		
Gehetel	1416	40	+0.1
Israel Corp. 1	no trading		
Wolfson 1 r	105000	-	-0.9
Leumi Invest.	5015	490	+0.3
Discount Invest.	4895	55	-0.3
Mizrahi Invest.	2337	3898	+2.0
Clal 10	16001	35	+1.3
Landeco 0.1	758	1515	-1.8
Parme 0.1	8250	31	+3.0
Parme 0.1	9999	195	+3.1

## Oil Exploration

Paz Oil Expl.	12800	371	-
J.O.E.L.	1470	84	-2.0

## Abbreviations:

s.o. sellers only	b. buyers only
s.o. registered	b. registered

FINANCIAL DATA  
ISRAEL EUROPE, U.S.

## ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS June 22, 1986

SHEKEL INTEREST RATES  
PRIME BORROWING RATE: 1.25% per month  
Unlinked Deposit (Annual Rates)

	Last Updated	Tapas	Pakam 7-Day	Pakam 30-Day
LEUMI	18.5	7-15%	8-15.5%	8-15.5%
HAPOLIM	18.5	8-13%	10-13.25%	12-14%
DISCOUNT	5.6	7-13%	7-13%	9-14%
MIZRAHI	8.5	8-16%	6-15%	6-17%
FIRST INT'L	3.6	6-13%	7-13%	6-13%

Rates vary according to size of deposit.  
(Tapas: demand deposit paying daily interest.  
Pakam: fixed-term deposit available from 7 to 59 days.)

## PATAH - FOREIGN CURRENCY DEPOSIT RATES (as of June 22)

	3-MONTHS	6-MONTHS	12-MONTHS
USD	6.375	6.375	6.500
STG	8.750	8.500	8.500
DMK	3.875	4.000	4.125
SFR	4.500	4.375	4.375
YEN	3.125	3.125	3.125

Rates vary according to size of deposit and are subject to change.

## SHEKEL FOREIGN EXCHANGE RATES (as of June 19)

		CHEQUES AND TRANSFERS		BANKNOTES		Rep.
		Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	Rate
U.S.A. Dollar	1	1.4847	1.5033	1.46	1.53	1.4945
U.K. Sterling	1	2.2367	2.2647	2.19	2.30	2.2512
Deutch Mark	1	0.8665	0.6749	0.66	0.69	0.6706
French Franc	1	0.2086	0.2112	0.20	0.21	0.2089
Dutch Florin	1	0.5915	0.5989	0.58	0.61	0.5953
Swiss Franc	1	0.8082	0.8183	0.79	0.83	0.8134
Swedish Krone	1	0.2082	0.2088	0.20	0.21	0.2074
Norweg. Krone	1	0.1954	0.1978	0.19	0.20	0.1965
Danish Krone	1	0.1753	0.1816	0.18	0.19	0.1805
Finnish Mark	1	0.2866	0.2902	0.28	0.30	0.2886
Canad. Dollar	1	1.0651	1.0784	1.05	1.10	1.0732
Austr. Dollar	1	1.0301	1.0430	0.96	1.06	1.0388
S. Africa Rand	1	0.6236	0.6314	0.45	0.50	0.6292
Belgian Franc	100	0.3235	0.3275	0.32	0.33	0.3281
Austrian Sch.	100	0.9487	0.9606	0.83	0.98	0.9540
Italian Lire	1000	0.9698	0.9819	0.95	1.00	0.9766
Japanese Yen	100	0.8890	0.9002	0.87	0.91	0.8947
Jordanian Dinar	1	—	—	0.73	0.79	0.7433
Egyptian Pound	1	—	—	0.79	0.84	0.8033



# THE JERUSALEM POST

**Art Rath**  
Editor and  
Managing Director

**Erwin Frenkel**  
Editor

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## Making a tempest

THERE IS NOTHING better than the prospect of a good juicy clash to lend interest to a routine conference. That is the fortune of the Jewish Agency Assembly which meets in Jerusalem this week.

The Assembly brings together the Israeli party-appointed officials of the Agency-World Zionist Organization establishment, and the non-party, mostly Diaspora and mostly fund-raising activists. For some time now there have been growing strains between these two camps. The Israelis contend that the Diaspora activists who bring in the money want therefore to tell the Israelis what to do with it. The Diaspora people contend that the Israelis want them to deliver the cash and then keep quiet and keep out.

No doubt there is merit to the arguments of both sides. The Israelis believe they know national priorities and constraints better than the outsiders; the Diaspora fund-raisers believe they know the usages of accountability — and the needs of the Diaspora — better.

The immediate cause of the agitation, however, is a series of articles critical of Agency operations and the existing pattern of relationships between the Israel and Diaspora functions and functionaries. The articles were written by *Jerusalem Post* reporter Charles Hoffman for two Jewish papers in the U.S., and appeared recently in more condensed form in this newspaper.

They were, however, collected in booklet form by some Diaspora leaders, together with offensive cartoons, for distribution at the Assembly. This roused the ire of the Israeli Agency and WZO officials. The Diaspora philanthropists had wanted the points raised in the articles to be discussed at the Assembly. The Israelis instead demand apologies, resignations and other signs of contrition. In the melee everyone has overreacted, including Agency chairman Arye Dulin who has termed the text as well as the cartoons "anti-Zionist."

As a result, Diaspora impulsiveness and insensitivity has played into the hands of the interlocking directorate which is the Agency-WZO and political-party apparatus so as to deflect debate from the real source of strains and conflict.

Despite the recriminations and the rhetoric, the articles as published in this newspaper raise genuine questions which cannot be lightly dismissed. Certainly they cannot be dismissed — as Mr. Dulin apparently prefers — by labelling them as anti-Zionist. Presiding over the Zionist executive does not, at least not yet, carry with it the right to excommunicate critics and delegitimize criticism.

Even if the Israeli side "wins" this round and prevents an Assembly debate, the issues will not disappear. For they go to the heart of the relationship between the Israeli political elite and the Diaspora philanthropic elite. Each side needs the other too much to perpetuate rancour. Therein, however, lies not only the solution but also the problem.

## Misplaced enthusiasm

A REPORT from Washington suggests that someone in the U.S. has "discovered" that Israel has a trade surplus of \$800 million with the West Bank and Gaza — nearly twice as much as the trade surplus of the U.S. with Israel, not counting exports of military hardware.

This is roughly true. A recent study by Dan Zakai of the Bank of Israel Research Department shows that in 1984 the trade deficit of the areas with Israel was about \$760 million, of which some \$534m. were covered by factor receipts — exports of labour — from work in Israel, and another \$151m. from other factor receipts, including work in other countries.

But the implication in the independent Washington report is that this Israeli trade surplus may be an impediment to peace because if peace comes, Israel might lose the West Bank and Gaza markets. As further support for the theory of an alleged Israeli vested interest in impeding peace on economic grounds, it is pointed out that peace with Egypt has also not resulted in any flourishing trade.

It is rather strange to hear such a crude, almost Marxist interpretation come out of the U.S. capital. What the data show is that the economies of Israel and the areas have over the years become highly integrated. That may indeed make it difficult to seal the borders between them again to traffic of goods and people, in the interest of both sides. But open borders are, after all, what peace is all about — and with peace, not only would the borders between the territories and Israel remain open, but Israel would then gain access also to much larger markets beyond.

That the peace with Egypt has not so far triggered more than a trickle of trade, apart from oil, is neither here nor there.

For one thing, the reasons for that are more political than economic, and a settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would no doubt contribute greatly also to the development of normal trade with Egypt. Besides, until Israel and Egypt made peace, they had no trade to revive, and nothing of the economic integration that today characterizes the economies of Israel and the West Bank and Gaza.

Even if the territories were under some form of self-government, to embark on a massive economic development process of their own, that might mean more, rather than less, trade with Israel.

Israel's friends in Washington would, therefore, do well not to search so hard for Israeli economic reasons against a settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The causes of the conflict lie elsewhere, and are difficult enough to eliminate. Economically, Israel only loses from the absence of peace.

# Taking the heat over dipping aliya

ARYEH RUBINSTEIN

**IMMIGRANT ABSORPTION** Minister Ya'acov Tsor probably was not aiming to make a splash at this week's meeting of the Jewish Agency Assembly when he told the Knesset that the aliya crisis was not on the assembly's agenda.

Speaking two weeks ago in the debate on his ministry's activities, Tsor noted that some other Zionist meetings were scheduled in the coming weeks: the Zionist General Council, the Jewish Agency Board of Governors, and the world movement of each Zionist party. And aliya was not due to be discussed at any of them. "This is terrible," Tsor said.

Tsor said that the 10,700 olim who came last year constituted a new low. Coupled with the unprecedented yerida (15,300) there had been a negative migration balance for the first time. Only 2,971 came from North America, as against 4,799 in 1984. Since 1948, less than one per cent of U.S. Jews (50,000-60,000) have made aliya.

"We must admit," Tsor said, "that down the years the political and social establishment in Israel has given ideological licence to this development by acquiescing in the existence of a Zionism devoid of vision and, what is even more serious, we have given up our demand that the Jews of the Gola come on aliya."

If Tsor used the word *Gola* advisedly, then he was begging the question. For *Gola* — like *Gulat* — means exile, and the American Zionist establishment, which was foremost in Tsor's mind, has always rejected any suggestion that the U.S. is exile.

Apart from the semantic question, it is worth recalling that the 1966 Zionist Congress proclaimed the Jerusalem Programme, in which the acceptance of aliya, in the sense of personal migration, became a *sine qua non* for belonging to any recognized Zionist group. But that did not trigger a new wave of aliya.

Tsor said that some American Jews "very cleverly" liken the present situation to "Babylonia and Jerusalem" (implying that there are two equally legitimate and complementary centres of Jewish life and culture). But that was a red herring, he implied. "For the struggle today is over the will of the Jewish people to remain Jewish. And that's the whole truth."

Never was there a period when it was so easy for the Jewish people to cease being Jewish, Tsor said. Among French Jewry, for example, the rate of mixed marriages is over 70 per cent, and that among the first and second generations of traditional Jews who emigrated from North Africa.

Tsor said that the Zionist movement has become "an establishment without a movement and without a soul... I don't have easy answers (about how to better organize Israel-Diaspora relations), but I think the present system causes damage and should not be accepted even as the lesser evil. It would be preferable for it not to exist at all, because it is a kind of conventional lie. It's ritual that's repeated every three months: the same speeches, the same speakers, and nothing happens."

At Saturday's meeting of the world committee of the Labour Zionist movement, Tsor was more specific. The various appeals and fund-raising activities "are corrupting Israel-Diaspora relations," he said. If such fund-raising is to continue at all, it should be limited to two goals: the continuation of Jewish education abroad and immigrant absorption in Israel.

Tsor is a product of Hakhibutz Hame'uhad, and it is possible that some of his strong language was influenced by the even sharper denunciation of the present arrangement by Yitzhak Ben-Aharon, an elder statesman of Kibbutz Hame'uhad, which was injected into the Knesset debate by Genia Cohen.

"Anti-Zionist" is what what Ben-Aharon recently called the government. And he sneered at the "banquet relationship" between Israel and American Jewry. All that is left of the Zionist movement is the bureaucracy of the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency.

Ben-Aharon says that Israel has sought only two things from U.S. Jewry: money and political leverage. And American Jewry was not only happy to give this but actually needed to do so for its own self-respect and feeling of participation.

ISRAEL HAS played the game by refraining from demanding the aliya of American Zionists or their children because that would antagonize them. This has not only turned the Israel government into "the leading anti-Zionist element," but it also abets yerida, Ben-Aharon charges. For if there is no moral obligation for American Jews to make aliya, how can it be wrong for Israelis to move there?

Ben-Aharon says that Israel's survival is at stake. If it is to breathe easy it must have another million olim in the next 10-15 years.

While Ben-Aharon spoke only of Zionist motivation, Tsor did not neglect the mundane aspect of the problem: how to absorb the oleh once he gets here. Formally, apart from trying to check yerida, that is his only job. He has no more of "a right" to express views on aliya promotion than any other minister. But since so much of the debate goes beyond the absorption question, no one would want to muzzle the minister of immigrant absorption. In fact, his opinions perhaps deserve even greater weight because he was not required to state them.

Genia Cohen quoted not only Ben-Aharon, but also Resh Lakish, the third century Palestinian amora: "I hate you, sages of Babylonia, for if you had come up (made aliya) as a wall in the days of Ezra, the Temple would not have been destroyed."

In saying that, adds the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Resh Lakish "expressed the general feeling current among people in Eretz Yisrael."

## READERS' LETTERS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — In his letter of May 20, Mr. Wim van Leer claims that Mr. Wiesenthal did not take action against the former Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Bruno Kreisky, when Dr. Kreisky accused him of collaboration with the Gestapo during the war.

As Mr. Wiesenthal's legal representative in many suits before Austrian courts, I must definitely contradict this charge. Mr. Wiesenthal sued the former Chancellor, Dr. Kreisky, four times for defamation, but the suits could not be carried through because the Austrian Parliament refused to lift Mr. Kreisky's immunity. When Dr. Kreisky first made his public accusation in the year 1975, claiming Mr. Wiesenthal had worked with the Gestapo during the war, Mr. Wiesenthal brought two actions against him on October 29, 1975 (reference number of the case 6BER Vr 8432/75, Hv 533/75 Vienna Criminal Court).

Dr. Kreisky knew the Austrian Parliament would not suspend his immunity; but he told the press that nevertheless he wanted to go to court against Mr. Wiesenthal and that he would resign his mandate in the Parliament to this end. By this announcement, he found himself in

## COURT ACTION AGAINST KREISKY

an unfavourable position. He therefore tried to get an arrangement out of court by complying with Mr. Wiesenthal's demand to retract his accusation of collaboration with the Nazis. In the Austrian Parliament, he declared "... I should like to state that I have not called Mr. Wiesenthal a Nazi collaborator as some agencies erroneously claimed and published."

By reason of this declaration, Mr.

## Simon Wiesenthal withdrew his action against Dr. Kreisky.

In April 1986, Dr. Kreisky repeated his accusation that Mr. Wiesenthal had collaborated with the Nazis in the Austrian weekly magazine *Profil*. For this, as Mr. Wiesenthal's attorney, I filed an action for libel against Mr. Kreisky on May 16, 1986, with the Vienna Criminal Court. The suit will be decided in court.

DR. HANS FERNER  
Advocate  
Vienna.

## SEEKING SUITABLE HEBREW COURSES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — There is a lack of suitable courses for not-so-new immigrants who wish to improve their Hebrew.

I and my friends have been living here for several years and, as we are working full-time, we cannot take courses where the minimum number of study hours is eight per week. I know many olim who have started a course like this, but dropped out before completing it, due to pressure of work.

I have suggested to Ulpian Meir in Tel Aviv that they might offer

courses of three hours weekly as in other language learning institutions, but was told that their hands are tied by the Education Ministry. They admitted that they now had fewer pupils due to the drop in aliya and they would be interested in meeting the needs of the large number of olim who have settled here and wish to continue with the study of spoken and written Hebrew.

GAIL MORRIS  
and friends  
Ramat Gan.

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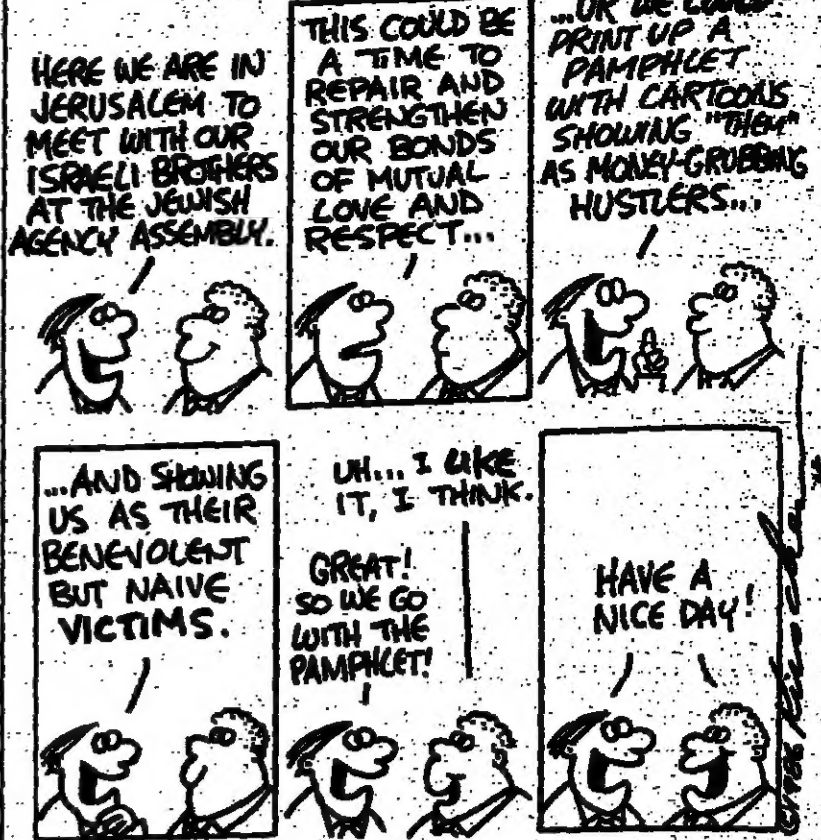
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## Dry Bones



## Active bigotry requires care

NATAN LERNER

IN A well-intentioned but erroneous article in this newspaper, ("Garden variety prejudice isn't racism," June 6), Josef Goell adopts a narrow view of what racism means, claiming that there is a significant difference between "prejudice against Arabs" or "xenophobic antipathy to goyim," and the racism of Kahane or of the Nazis.

What Goell fails to realize is that "prejudice" and "xenophobic antipathy" are only garden-variety ethnic prejudices: they have no social consequences; they become a zoological variety of social behaviour when they endanger peaceful coexistence and threaten the security, peace of mind, human rights or dignity of human beings.

If a bigot sits at home and tells his wife that blacks, Jews, Arabs, or members of any other group are inferior, that is his problem; if the same bigot engages in acts of racial discrimination prohibited by law, if he joins organizations which promote racial hatred, if he engages in racist violence or tries to incite others to do so, then he commits an offence and should be dealt with by the law.

Bigots will always find pretexts to exclude the group they hate from legal protection. Excluding "national conflicts," "mutual animosities," or "religious antagonisms" from the scope of anti-racist legislation is simply one of many well-known gimmicks used to keep the law from being applied to the particular form of prejudice preferred.

BUT JUDICIAL decisions have supported a broad approach to the legal meaning of "race" and "racism." In the last two decades, courts in England, New Zealand, Holland, and, to some extent, the United States, took the view that historical and cultural identity, as opposed to

purely biological factors, fall under the meaning of "race" or "ethnic origin." "Those who conceive of themselves as being different and who are so regarded by others" have to be defended by the law against prejudice, hostility, hatred and discrimination.

The word "race" is presently not used in legal instruments in a biological sense; it is "the strength of the ancestral ties," "the traditional and cultural values and beliefs," the "common heritage" that are important. Therefore, the United Nations Convention against Racial Discrimination, or the British Race Relations Act, or less clearly the United States Civil Rights Act, should be broadly interpreted to cover Jew since some people consider them "only a religious" group.

The laws should also cover Sikhs, or Arabs, or any other community which some may try to exclude from protection on the grounds that what is involved is only "prejudice" or "xenophobia" unworthy of being covered by the law.

Goell's article induced me to write these lines despite the sad feeling that the indefensible behaviour of the government and the Knesset majority in the case of the anti-racist bill makes useless any principled discussion of the matter. I don't know what the future of Israeli legislation on this issue will be, but personally I consider weak anti-racist legislation better than no legislation at all. Those who are against bigotry, group-hatred and discrimination should not defeat their own good intentions by ignoring the legal trends prevailing in the world in the matter of group protection. Arguments used in the past against anti-racist legislation — the sanctity of freedom of speech, or a strict biological interpretation of the word "race," or the superiority of education over legislation — should be seen as belonging precisely, and only, to the past.

The writer teaches International Law at the Tel Aviv Faculty of Law and is the author of a book on the UN Convention on Racial Discrimination.

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## POSTSCRIPTS

**P.S.** A SYDNEY mail order company plans to divide a Pablo Picasso work into 500 pieces and sell them separately. Australia's *Daily Telegraph* reported recently.

The company, Subdivision Art, paid \$13,000 for the 1959 Picasso linocut *Trois Femmes*, one of only 50 produced, the paper said.

Subdivision Art plans to sell the 25mm. square pieces for \$190 each "to give ordinary people a chance to own a piece of work by the century's greatest artist."

The gallery owner who sold the Picasso unwittingly was said to be incensed at the planned destruction.

**P.S.** "THERE'S no one here by that name," an elderly-sounding woman told our reporter in a disgruntled voice when he asked to speak to Moshe Shahal, the energy minister.

"This is an old folks' home," she explained, adding that the number had been changed a few months before. "And tell your friend Shahal, he's no longer at this number. That guy gets a lot of calls, especially at night," she said.

"They say he's somebody important. But he can't be so important that he can't tell his friends to stop calling this number." R.J.

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